

**CANADA'S GREEK MOMENT:
TRANSNATIONAL POLITICS, ACTIVISTS, AND
SPIES DURING THE LONG SIXTIES**

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines Greek immigrant homeland politics during the period of Greece's military dictatorship, 1967 to 1974, in Toronto and Montreal. It carefully considers the internal dynamics of anti-junta activism in Canada's Greek populations, but it also contemplates the meanings of external perceptions, particularly from the Canadian state and Canadian public discourse. The study acknowledges the dominant paradigm of Greek immigrants as unskilled workers, however, it demonstrates that this archetype is not monolithic. In many ways, it is challenged by a small number of Greeks who possessed skills to write letters to politicians, create petitions, organize public rallies, and politically mobilize others. At the same time, this dissertation carefully considers Canada's social and political environment and shows how uniquely Canadian politics ran parallel to and informed Greek homeland politics. Transnationalism is used as an analytical tool, which challenges the meaning of local/national borders and the perception that they are sealed containers. The main argument expressed here is that environments shape movements and migrant political culture does not develop in a vacuum.

Each chapter deals with specific nuances of anti-junta activism in Toronto and Montreal. Chapter One examines the organized voices of the Greek community's anti-dictatorship movement. The chapter's latter section looks at how the Panhellenic Liberation Movement (PAK), led by Andreas Papandreou, consolidated itself as the main mouthpiece against Greece's authoritarian regime. Chapter Two demonstrates that social movements occurring in Canada meshed neatly with anti-junta sentiment, mobilizing many Canadians against the dictatorship. Chapter Three shows how a few skilled Greeks shaped transnational narratives of resistance in

local Greek leftist press. Chapters Four and Five examine RCMP surveillance documents related to local politics in Toronto and Montreal. In doing so, the chapters reveal that regional circumstances, particularly Quebec's Quiet Revolution, shaped security concerns and definitions of Greek subversive activities. Overall, Canada's Greek moment was a complex tale of activism, surveillance, and transnational politics.

For the sacrifices that afforded me the opportunity to study,
I dedicate this dissertation to my parents.

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INTRODUCTION

On 1 September 1967, Toronto's Greek Community of Metropolitan Toronto Inc. cheerfully and reverently anticipated the arrival of Greece's monarch, King Constantine, and his wife, Queen Anne-Marie at the Granite Club located on St. Clair Avenue.¹ The couple stopped in Toronto for a regatta on Lake Ontario just before a visit to Expo '67, Canada's centennial celebration and world fair taking place in Montreal. Inside the venue, 350 guests including Toronto Mayor William Dennison waited for the opportunity to rub elbows with royalty. As the door to his chauffeured vehicle opened, the king looked across the street. His gaze was met by 300 protestors waving placards reading, "Down With Dictatorship" and "King Constantine is Responsible for the Greek Tragedy". In Montreal, similar forms of activism took place. As the *Montreal Gazette* reported, crowds of Greeks protested outside of the king's hotel chanting and yelling so loudly that police had to blare their sirens in order to deter the crowd from continuing their shouting.² This scene occurred in juxtaposition to Greece's national day at Expo, where it was reported that the king and his wife were received enthusiastically. The *Gazette* observed that 5,000 cheering people were in attendance while many of them waved tiny Greek flags and loudly cried out, "God save the king and queen."³ The reception of the Greek monarchy in Toronto and Montreal is a clear demonstration of the enduring political cleavages that informed the Greek Canadian landscape during the 1960s and 1970s.

¹ "Greek King and Queen at Granite Club," *Globe and Mail*, Saturday, September 2, 1967.

² "Constantine Well Guarded While Sailing," *Montreal Gazette*, Tuesday, August 29, 1967.

³ Mark Starowicz, "Warm Welcome Greets Royalty," *Montreal Gazette*, September 7, 1967.



Fig. 1 – King Constantine standing on a boat in the Toronto harbour.
Greek Royal Family: King Constantine, Queen Anne-Marie Princess Irene at R.C.Y.C. [three men standing on the deck of a boat], 27 August 1967. Telegram staff photographer. Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, York University Libraries, Toronto Telegram Fonds, F0433, ASC27238.

The polarized response to the king is an event that has escaped our collective memory. When it comes to our understanding of Greek immigrants, it is a much different narrative that dominates our thinking. Most academic works examine the difficult conditions initially encountered by Greeks in Canada. In the Greek Canadian community, popular narratives reinterpret the academic texts to reflect boastful “rags to riches” stories that heighten ethnic pride. In both cases, there is a homogenizing effect; taken as a whole, it would be easy to conclude that all Greeks in Canada were poorly educated, but calculating migrants who wished to improve their lot by moving to a more advanced economy. While the majority of Greek immigrants to Canada were unskilled labourers from rural settings, this socioeconomic profile does not apply to all that came. Moreover, our knowledge of Greeks in Canada suggests that their migration was a one way flow. In reality, this observation is a reflection of the class of the most popular research subjects; those focused on making ends meet from one week to the next. But this focus has silenced a significant cohort and moment in our memory. By shifting our analytical tools to include a political lens, a significant contribution that complements current understandings of Greek Canada can be made. As this dissertation demonstrates, Canada’s Greek moment was a complex tale of activism, surveillance, and transnational politics.

The main actors in this study existed in a space that is difficult to classify. Were they community elites? Were they political refugees? Were they migrants that challenged the meaning of borders through their political activity? Were they immigrants? The problem with these labels is that they are too specific and catered to describe more “normal” circumstances. When Greece’s dictatorship rose to power on 21 April 1967, it did so in a Cold War climate. In Canada, the populace and the government were caught in a paradoxical conversation that sought to

balance human and civil rights with the policing of political radicals; a perceived social evil. Of course, this was not unique to Canada, which was caught in a global political war between capitalism and communism. Given Greece's geopolitical significance in this broader context and its status as a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) member, Canada took an official stance of neutrality on the Greek dictatorship; arguing that it would not meddle in the domestic affairs of foreign countries (for more, see Chapters One and Two). As Chapter One shows, this position made the labelling of Greeks as refugees problematic. For this reason, the use of the term by the Panhellenic Liberation Movement (PAK), an anti-dictatorship organization led by Andreas Papandreou, was contested by others in the Greek community.

Additionally, the political imagination of Canada during the country's Greek moment was dominated by a simplistic binary, which created a category of potential internal enemies who were from Greece. As Chapters Four and Five demonstrate, there are many actors in this study who appeared in surveillance files of the Canadian state because their political activity was believed to be injurious to the health of the nation. However, there are also many others who were not communist sympathizers and risked being labelled as such because of their strong anti-authoritarian perspective. What Greece should look like in a political sense was a highly contested idea. As the enclosed chapters show, there were both Greeks and Canadians who wished to see a communist revolution in Greece, but also those who lobbied only for the country's return to democracy. In a world that was dominated by Cold War ideology and communist containment, many Greeks ended up on state watch-lists. Since this aspect of Canada's Greek community has never been analyzed before, this may be surprising to many.

Beyond this, the individuals in this dissertation do not neatly fit the most common terms used to describe politically active and mobile people. When the dictatorship occurred, many of these actors were already living in Canada. The *coup* mobilized them in unforeseen ways and provided a target for their activism. In this way, they were not “typical” immigrants who only engaged with their former homeland through family, news, and cultural practices like food. They had a sincere desire to influence the political infrastructure of their homeland. The broader political complexities noted earlier also prevented them from being labelled as refugees. Because of these dynamics, this analysis refers to anti-dictatorship activities as transnational homeland politics. As Steven Vertovec explains, “‘Transnationalism’ refers to multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states.”⁴ In another prominent work, transnationalism is defined as “...the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement.”⁵ But, academics studying migration have taken this a step further, reflecting what Arjun Appadurai has called, “Translocalities”.⁶ As this dissertation shows, it is not merely national borders that matter, but local contexts as well.

The actors in this dissertation were not typical. The popularizing of the Greek immigrant as a worker or small business owner rising above his/her class silences the important voices that do not precisely fit common perceptions of Greek identity. For the average Greek immigrant, distance from Greece and the ambition to build a new life played a role in limiting their desire to participate in Greek politics. As author and Quebec politician Christos Sirros writes, “there were

⁴ Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism*. (New York: Routledge, 2009).

⁵ Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. (CITY: Gordon and Breach Publishers, 1994), pg. 7.

⁶ Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

those who wanted to forget about any sort of politics”.⁷ A sincere interest in homeland politics was mitigated by Greek immigrants’ concern with the more pressing matters of everyday life; the immediate concerns of finding stable work, providing for families, putting food in hungry stomachs, and creating a life in an unfamiliar place took precedence over Greece’s political situation. In short, the overwhelming hours of working life that was the lot of low-educated and unskilled Greeks meant that there was little time for activities outside of life’s necessities.⁸ In this context, “the culture of everyday life,” an expression coined by John Bodnar, impelled immigrants to find ways to adapt to the material constraints that they faced.⁹

In contrast, the background, organizational astuteness, and political concerns of the actors found in this dissertation are far from what most Greek immigrants experienced. In the case of anti-dictatorship groups, the Committee for Restoration and Democracy in Greece (Toronto), the Canadian Committee for Democracy in Greece (Montreal), Makrygiannis (Montreal), and PAK, Greek members were sometimes academics, typically fluent in Greek and English, educated, politically sophisticated, and politically mobilized. The actors in this dissertation showed that they were not afraid to organize public demonstrations, write letters to their politicians, form their own media outlets, and take advantage of the freedoms guaranteed to Canadians, both old and new. It is safe to say that the political concerns of these actors, and the ability to do something about them, fundamentally distinguishes them from the portrayal of most Greek immigrants as “urban villagers”, as posited by Efi Gavaki, a prominent sociologist of

⁷ Christos Sirros, *The Mile End West Project: A Study of Community Development in an Immigrant Community*. (Montreal: Greek Community of Montreal, September, 1973), pg. 6.

⁸ Anonymous Interview, Montreal, Summer 2012.

⁹ John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), pg. 206 - 207.

Greek immigration in Canada. These migrants were engaged in multiple nodes and connections across nation-state borders and their identities were intimately tied to the political situation in their homeland. Their Greek space in Canada allowed for the fostering of political dissent against tyranny. They took advantage of greater individual autonomy and looser enforcement capabilities by the Greek state. In Canada, “recalcitrant” Greeks created and simultaneously accessed networks that transcended any nation-state. They essentially engaged in what Aihwa Ong has called, “flexible citizenship,” whereby they could use favourable political conditions in Canada to respond to those of Greece.¹⁰ But their actions were very much governed by an imagined connection to Greece, a process most notably articulated by Benedict Anderson in his work *Imagined Communities*. While Anderson does not refer to immigrants or diasporas, the idea of an imagined connection to the political and geographic entity of Greece was an important construct that maintained trans-territorial connections. As Anderson explains, nation-ness is a cultural construct that is malleable, venerating certain “national” population characteristics and vigorously opposing others. The nation, he adds, “is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.”¹¹ National imagination was a powerful tool that anti-dictatorship resistance employed in Toronto and Montreal. Arguments of what is and what ought to be “Greece” pervaded the minds of all who concerned themselves with the country’s political situation.

¹⁰ Aihwa Ong, *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999).

¹¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (New York: Verso, 1983), pg. 7

The resistance to the military junta was important symbolically, but small numerically. Peter Chimbos, a prominent Greek sociologist who supports this view, calls the anti-dictatorship struggle in Toronto and Montreal “the most dynamic political movements within the Greek-Canadian communities,”¹² but simultaneously recognizes that,

The majority of Greek Canadians did not become involved in any organized opposition to the regime and thousands of them visited Greece during the seven-year dictatorship. Many Greek Canadians took advantage of the regime’s attractive ‘foreign investor’s plan,’ whereby Greek Canadians who made money available for investment in Greece were eligible for a government loan at a very low interest rate. This not only encouraged investment of Canadian dollars in Greece but also served as good public relations for the dictators.¹³

Nevertheless, the establishment of military rule in Greece created a lot of uncertainty for Greek immigrants abroad. Stories of arbitrary arrest and imprisonment circulated and fueled fear of speaking out. But, irrespective of what may have been done or said in public, most Greek immigrants were critical of the junta.¹⁴ For many, fear of what might happen if and when they decided to return to Greece compelled them to stay silent. More importantly, however, was the fear that family members in Greece would be severely punished for their actions or negative sentiment. Whether real or unfounded, this was a concern that certainly influenced how many Greek immigrants acted toward and spoke of the Greek state. As one observer put it, “the particular weakness of the [Greek] immigrant is that he doesn’t seem to grasp the idea of his constitutional rights of Canada. In the back of his mind...he feels that somehow, somewhere, by someone even unknown to him, it’s a suspicion, that a message will be transferred to Greece and there his family may suffer because of a certain behaviour of his.”¹⁵ A prominent sociologist of the Greek community of Montreal echoed this sentiment in an interview, observing that in the

¹² Chimbos, pg. 123

¹³ Ibid, pg. 127

¹⁴ Anonymous Interview, Montreal, Summer 2012.

¹⁵ *The 80 Goes to Sparta*, directed by Bill Davies (1969; Montreal, QB; National Film Board of Canada, DVD).

late 1960s, the average Greek immigrant was very concerned and very scared about the political situation in Greece.¹⁶

While Greece and activists in Canada are a central part of this dissertation's narrative, non-Greek actors including activists and the Canadian government played a critical role in anti-dictatorship activities in Toronto and Montreal. As Chapter Two argues, the anti-dictatorship movement in Canada occurred within a broader context of the long sixties; a symbolic periodization that lasted from the 1960s to the mid-1970s.¹⁷ While other studies of homeland politics investigate the ties between migrants and their homeland, they rarely tell us if and how Canadians got involved. The reality however, is that homeland politics do not occur in silos. As Chapter Two demonstrates, the activism of non-Greek actors was an important part of shaping anti-junta sentiment in Canada. As post-colonial and various bottom-up forms of activism took hold in Canada, issues like state authoritarianism and unjust systems of power became public talking points. For the most part, Canadian society reacted to the Greek dictatorship in a critical way. Canadians wrote to their members of parliament to condemn the Greek regime; they penned letters to newspapers. The media complemented the distaste for dictatorship and printed articles that painted Greece's political affairs as deplorable and inconsistent with the central tenets of democracy. Through these activities, Canadians showed that their own nation-state border was porous. The desire to influence Greek politics by first mobilizing in Canada was demonstrative of how national identity gave way to an increasingly global consciousness. A

¹⁶ Anonymous Interview, Montreal, Summer 2012.

¹⁷ See Arthur Warwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Transformation in Britain, France, Italy and the United States*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

sense that the people of Greece could be helped through grassroots mobilization in Canada transcended Canada's borders.

Canada's two largest cities, Toronto and Montreal, also figure prominently in this dissertation. Within this discussion, the meaning of borders, both national and regional, are called into question. While the study talks about Canada as one nation, it also recognizes the immense complexities associated with regionalism in the country, particularly as it relates to Quebec. Evidence suggests that the place where migrants choose to live has an influence on their homeland politics and how related activities are perceived. As Chapters Four and Five argue, the Canadian state investigated Toronto and Montreal differently because of Quebec nationalism, a political context that was completely unrelated to Greece. With the Quiet Revolution, one of Canada's most divisive moments, occurring simultaneously, the political activity of Greeks took on a special significance. While surveillance in Toronto largely centred on communist containment, investigators in Montreal also wished to discover the cross-pollination activities between Greek activists and other immigrant or Quebecois subversives. Given the very unique political scene in Montreal during the 1960s and 1970s, one must resist the temptation to see these two spaces as one homogenous Canada. On this note, Nina Glick Schiller and Ayşe Çağlar argue that the established contours in immigration studies tend to privilege the role of nation-states. But, as they argue,

Within the migration literature, there are many studies of migration *to* cities and the life of migrants *in* cities but very little about the relationship of migrants *and* cities. However, in most of this scholarship cities figure merely as containers providing spaces in which migrants settle and make a living. Despite the vast migration scholarship on what are labeled ethnic, transnational, or diasporic communities in specific cities, we still know very little about how migrants

actively contribute to the restructuring and repositioning of either their cities of settlement or those to which they are transnationally connected.¹⁸

In this light, a more complete understanding of the various forces shaping immigrant political identity may be formed. Given that these identities are constantly engaged in a process of negotiation¹⁹, it is important to note that migrant space, as Michael Smith and Luis Eduardo explain, “Inadvertently...opens up interstitial social spaces which create multiple possibilities for resistance as well as accommodation to power ‘from above’.”²⁰ In Toronto and Montreal, the process of trans-territorialization or Greece’s de-territorialization, allowed group agency to form in ways that were nearly impossible in Greece.

Overall, this study weaves together the political, socioeconomic, geographic, security, and transnational forces that descended upon Toronto and Montreal during Greece’s military dictatorship from 1967 to 1974. In these major urban centers, Greek immigrants mobilized in various ways to combat an oppressive regime that seized power in their homeland. But Greek immigrants were not the only persons to attempt to influence the politics of Greece. The responses of other Canadians, the Canadian state, and the international context of the Cold War shaped the contours of the anti-dictatorship dialogue. The main argument proposed by this study is that environments shape movements and migrant political culture does not develop in a vacuum.

¹⁸ Nina Glick Schiller and Ayşe Çağlar, eds., *Locating Migration: Rescaling Cities and Migrants*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), pg. 2.

¹⁹ For more on the power dynamics of negotiating space see, Henri Lefebvre, *The production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991. (Lefebvre, Henri. *La production de l’espace*. Paris: Éditions Anthropos, 1974).

²⁰ Michael Smith and Luis Eduardo Guarnizo, eds., *Transnationalism from Below*. (New Brunswick USA: Transaction Publishers, 1998), pg. 9.

I. Historiography

Greeks in Canada and Immigration Policy

In contrast to the view presented in this dissertation, the existing academic work on Greek immigrants in Canada is centered on the theme of integration. The actions of migrants who responded to Greek-centered issues are interpreted through a whiggish lens; a straight trajectory toward middle-class respectability. Interpreting Greek immigrant history in this way is to impose contemporary conditions on the past; but history does not produce inevitable results. Greek immigrant political mobilization should not be seen as a brief blip on the radar. The titles of the two most prominent works in the scarcely decorated field of Greek migrant studies in Canada are the most demonstrative pieces of evidence. Both Peter Chimbos's *The Canadian Odyssey* and Efie Gavaki's and Michael Tamis's *From Migrants to Citizens*²¹ connote a journey of metamorphosis; immigrants shedding their Old World coats and successfully integrating into Canadian society.²² The sociological underpinnings of these works also privilege present-minded questions.²³ For example, Chimbos and Gavaki look at how Greeks have adapted to social and economic life in Canada. Some of the questions that Chimbos poses are, "What problems did they have on arriving to Canada? Did they come alone or with their families? Did they move into Greek communities and seek jobs with Greeks, or did they try to strike out on their own?"²⁴ These questions yield valuable insight, but the focus on socioeconomics creates gaps in

²¹ I will focus on Gavaki specifically because this comparative work looks at Greeks immigrants in Canada and Australia, with Gavaki presented as the authority on the Canadian context.

²² Peter Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey: The Greek Experience in Canada*. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1980); Anastasios M. Tamis and Efrosini Gavaki, *From Migrants to Citizens: Greek Migration in Australia and Canada*. (Melbourne: National Centre for Hellenic Studies and Research, La Trobe University, 2002).

²³ For more on how sociologists tend to view immigrant history and for an overview of how "ethnic intellectuals" have tended to study immigrants in Canada, see, Roberto Perin, "Writing about Ethnicity," in John Schultz ed., *Writing about Canada: A Handbook for Modern Canadian History*. (Toronto: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1990).

²⁴ Chimbos, pg. 1

understanding, particularly for the political history for immigrants. While the studies are an immense asset to anyone researching Greeks in Canada, their narratives do not offer a complete history for this migrant group. In 1989, Leonidas Bombas's bibliographic guide to Greeks in Canada argued, "Unfortunately, up to the present, the number of studies dealing with Canada's Greeks at a national level is extremely limited beyond the mere descriptive analysis."²⁵ The observation remains true today.²⁶ This is a task to which this dissertation responds. Specifically, this work analyzes Greek Canadian space where the term integration is a poor descriptive and analytical lens; a place where local, regional, and many nationalisms collide and negotiate with one another. As Ioanna Laliotou argues, "we need to approach the movement of populations across borders as multidirectional flows, phenomena with local attributes but with translocal dynamics." She adds that Greek migrations must be reinterpreted "within the context of multiple transatlantic flows of culture and politics."²⁷

While in the latter stages of this dissertation, another Ph.D. thesis related to Greek immigrant transnational life in Canada was defended.²⁸ In it, Noula Mina argues that "transnational acts nurtured a diasporic space that drew Greek Canadians into a public dialogue on the meaning of Greek immigrant identity."²⁹ The study includes a chapter on transnational

²⁵ Leonidas Bombas, *Canada's Hellenism: A Bibliographic Guide*. (Athens: Leonidas Bombas, 1989), pg. 18.

²⁶ Some of the work that has been done is Efi Gavaki, "The Greeks in Canada, Where Are We Today: A Socio-economic profile" in C. Constantinides and Theo. Pelagides eds. *The Hellenism in the 21st Century: International Relations, Economy, Society, Politics, Culture, Education*. (Athens: Papazissis Press, 2000); Efi Gavaki, "The Greeks in Canada," in I. Hassiotis ed. *The Greek in Diaspora*. (Athens, 1999); Efi Gavaki, "Greek Immigration to Quebec: The Process and the Settlement," *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* Vol 17, No 1 (1991); Efi Gavaki, *The Integration of Greeks in Canada*. (San Francisco: R. & E. Associates, 1977); Evangelia Tastsoglou, ed., *Women, gender, and diasporic lives: labor, community, and identity in Greek migrations* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2009).

²⁷ Ioanna Laliotou, *Transatlantic Subjects: Acts of Migration and Cultures of Transnationalism Between Greece and America*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), pg. 7.

²⁸ Noula Mina, "Homeland Activism, Public Performance, and the Construction of Identity: An Examination of Greek Canadian Transnationalism, 1900s-1990s" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2015).

²⁹ *Ibid*, pg. ii

politics during the dictatorship years. This author agrees with some of Mina's conclusions. First, there is agreement that the number of Greeks involved in anti-dictatorship activism was small relative to the overall number of Greek immigrants to Canada during the same years. There is also a similar recognition that those engaged in homeland politics were not "typical" Greek immigrants insofar as they possessed skills to engage in writing, public protest, organizing and other abilities necessary for political activism. Second, both studies agree that the work of anti-junta mobilizations should be considered transnational. Third, there is obvious agreement that this era and the associated events are simultaneously absent and crucial to a more complete understanding of Greek immigrants in Canada. That both studies recognize key events like King Constantine's visit and the important moments of protest that occurred in Toronto and Montreal, speaks to a similar argument expressed by both authors: that existing academic texts are not sufficient to describe *all* Greek immigrants. In addition to these points of agreement, Mina's engagement with oral history has given her research insight that was not possible here. In particular, Mina includes personal perspectives and background information on some of the protagonists that the sources for this dissertation did not provide.

Aside from this methodological approach and the above findings, there are other key differences. In content, this dissertation includes more insight on Montreal, particularly as it relates to the Canadian state's perception of subversion within Greek communities. While Mina uses RCMP files, she does not contextualize their creation or address *why* Greek immigrants ended up on surveillance lists in Canada while simultaneously accusing the Greek government of unjustifiably keeping tabs on them. While there is also a recognition that the work of non-Greek actors mattered, this author argues that the ability of Greek immigrants to engage in homeland

politics and the resonance of their message is equally about Canada's political scene as it is about Greece's. This is especially true in light of the Canadian state's security files, which had the ability to define who and what was subversive. Also, this dissertation highlights the persona of Andreas Papandreou to a greater degree. Following his post at York University, Papandreou elevated the prominence of the anti-dictatorship movement in Canada and beyond, which is evident in the unprecedented access to Canadian officials and the international recognition that his movement had. Through political touring and the dissemination of *PAK News*, Papandreou became a force that brought anti-junta activism under his symbolic wing (even though this is an argument that many of the protagonists in this dissertation would refute). Finally, the key analytical difference of this dissertation centres on the interpretation of borders. On this point, Mina argues, "The Greeks who transcended geographical distances to inhabit a transnational community were not, however, deterritorialized,"³⁰ which is opposite to the perspective expressed in this dissertation. As this thesis argues, it is environments that matter and, by consequence, the meaning of borders fluctuates. Again, the same border that allowed for many Greeks to be defined as internal enemies was also the same border that allowed for public criticisms of the dictatorship without reprisal from the Greek state. These important differences of perspective distinguish the two works.

The creation of transnational space in Canada's urban spaces has received little attention by historians. While this process of severing the ties that exclusively bind geography to politics has been undertaken for contemporary migrant groups, there has been a lag in the discipline of history. Lloyd Wong and Vic Satzewich support this perspective, arguing that, "Canada has been

³⁰ Ibid, pg. 8

slow to adopt a transnational perspective.”³¹ But the nuances that can be revealed through this analytical lens can be illuminating. With respect to migrants and politics, Terrence Lyons and Peter Mandaville share that,

Political thinking and strategies developed by populations that are mobile and located in multiple locations around the world shape how diasporas are mobilized, issues are framed, and outcomes determined. Governments, political oppositions, rebel groups, and civil society organizations all recognize that transnational mobilization is an effective strategy to influence political outcomes.³²

While some historians have shown that migrant work networks challenge the meaning of borders as containers of identity,³³ the realm of transnational politics remains largely under-analyzed. But cross-border mobilizations need to be better understood for their ability to pervade and advantageously use national boundaries.³⁴

In addition to informing the historiography of Greek migrant studies in Canada, this dissertation seeks to complement and fill some gaps in the broader field of Canadian immigration history. For the most part, studies of Canadian immigration policy after the Second World War view immigrants as workers or pieces of a much larger nation-building project. Their contributions to Canadian society are quantified, measured, and assessed. In the absence of a large body of academic literature on the Greek immigrant experience, this cohort is typically seen for its part in the transformation of the country’s ethnic demographic. As Ninette Kelley and

³¹ Lloyd Wong and Vic Satzewich, eds., *Transnational Identities and Practices in Canada*. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006).

³² Terrence Lyons and Peter Mandaville, eds, *Politics from Afar: Transnational Diasporas and Networks*. (London: Hurst & Company, 2012), pg. 3.

³³ Bruno Ramirez, *On the Move: French-Canadian and Italian Migrants in the North Atlantic Economy, 1860 – 1914*. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1991); Wong and Satzewich.

³⁴ Ludger Pries ed., *New Transnational Social Spaces: International Migration and Transnational Companies in the Early Twenty-First Century*. (New York: Routledge, 2001); Eliezer Ben-Rafael and Yitzhak Sternberg, eds., *Transnationalism: Diasporas and the Advent of a New (Dis)Order*. (Boston: Brill, 2009); Steffen Mau, *Social Transnationalism: Lifeworlds Beyond the Nation-State*. (New York: Routledge, 2010); Mathias Albert, Gesa Bluhm, Jan Helmig, Andreas Leutzsch, and Jochen Walter, eds. *Transnational Political Spaces: Agents – Structures – Encounters*. (New York: Campus Verlag, 2009).

Michael Trebilcock argue, immigration policy in the post-World War II period was predominantly driven by two important factors. The first was an economic boom that created an insatiable appetite for new workers and an expansion of the population. The second was the international environment and Canada's growing role within it; particularly the United Nations.³⁵ The pull of a growing economy was particularly important in attracting Greek immigrants. Donald Avery explains that,

The continued expansion of the Canadian economy, the seemingly insatiable demands for unskilled and skilled labour, and the heady optimism that Canada was an evolving major world power encouraged an expansionist immigration policy in the 1950s and 1960s. Thousands of Dutch, German, Italian, Greek, and Portuguese immigrants came to this country with the expectation of a better life.³⁶

Similarly, other studies of immigration in Canada analyze the country's reception of immigrants from a policy perspective, but neglect the internal mechanisms of immigrant identity and politics.

At the same time, historical works on the topic of immigration in Canada reflect one national narrative.³⁷ The nuances of the migrant experience are understood within the contours of immigrant adjustment to Canadian life and the host population's perceptions of those immigrants. The history of the Canadian state's immigration policy or how ethnicity has shaped the experience of immigrants largely reflects an Anglo-centric perspective. In Avery's important

³⁵ Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pg. 311.

³⁶ Donald Avery, *Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896 – 1994*. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1995), pg. 13.

³⁷ For a historiographical overview of immigration in English Canada, see, Franca Iacovetta, "The Writing of English Canadian Immigrant History," *Canadian Historical Association, Canada's Ethnic Group Series*, No. 22 (1997). Iacovetta neatly shows how Canada's immigration history has gone in different trajectories following the 1970s as social historians have increasingly tackled themes of labour, gender, and ethnicity. Despite the push into new territory, many works dealing with immigration in Canada present the nation as one monolithic place. The careful distinction of "English Canada" is a recognition of diversity, yet it remains largely unanalyzed by historians.

work, the author admits that, “Some readers will note that the immigration debate in Quebec has been given only cursory treatment.”³⁸ But understanding the Canadian immigrant experience in this way dismisses what Canadian historians have long understood that Canada is a country of regions.³⁹ One must not look any further than the country’s constitutional foundations to see a widespread cognizance of regional interest and diversity.⁴⁰ In contemporary politics, regional interests often veiled as economic ones, flare up and pit provincial governments against Ottawa. The most protracted debates have historically focused on Quebec’s relationship with the rest of Canada.⁴¹ Indeed, regionalism has interacted with immigrants in profound ways.⁴² In the time period of this study, Quebec’s own emerging national narrative collided with that of English Canada. At the same time, Greece’s national narrative was in flux in Greek immigrant space. In Toronto and Montreal, Greek immigrants responded to the same homeland crisis, a military dictatorship, but the local context of their political activity shaped their discourse and outside perceptions of their politics.

³⁸ Avery, pg. 17

³⁹ Gerald Friesen, “The Evolving Meanings of Region in Canada,” *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 82. No. 3 (Sep 2001): 530 – 545.

⁴⁰ For an interesting study on the manifestations of Canada’s diverse origins, see H.V. Nelles, *The Art of Nation-Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec’s Tercentenary*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

⁴¹ Marcel Martel, *Deuil d’un pays imagine: rêves, lutes et dérouté du Canada français. Les relations entre Québec et la francophonie canadienne, 1867 – 1975* (Ottawa: Les Presses de l’Université d’Ottawa, 1997); Michael Behiels, *Prelude to Quebec’s Quiet Revolution: Liberalism versus Neo-Nationalism, 1945 – 1960*. (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1985); Guy Laforest, *Trudeau and the End of a Canadian Dream*. (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1995); Kenneth McRoberts, *Political Crisis and Social Change, 3rd ed.* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1993).

⁴² Some of the most important works showing the intersection of Canadian regionalism with immigrants, race, and ethnicity, are, Peter Ward, *White Canada Forever*. (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002); Patricia Roy, *A White Man’s Province: British Columbia, Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858 – 1914*. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1989); Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta*. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982); Patricia Wood, *Nationalism from the Margins: Italians in Alberta and British Columbia*. (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002); Jacques Langlais and David Rome, *Jews and French Quebecers*. (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991).

Homeland Politics

Greek immigrants have a history of engagement with homeland politics. As early as 1940, where Greeks and Canadians expressed solidarity with Greece following the country's defeat of Italy, a larger and more powerful state at the Battle of Koritza, Greek immigrants were engaged with the politics of Greece and being Greek.⁴³ For instance, although not ostensibly political, the Greek War Relief Fund collected public funds from across Canada for reconstruction efforts in Greece.⁴⁴ Another conduit through which the politics of both Greece and Canada were mediated was regional networks and associations. As a response to the everyday pressures of immigrant life, Greeks in the diaspora formed organizations that aspired to maintain connections to their local communities in Greece while also providing familiar kinship and social networks in their adopted home. These spaces of familiarity provided a site for the discussion of homeland issues, a comfort with language, mutual support, and the perpetuation of both local and national Greek identities. In both instances, charitable benefits and fundraising campaigns for the homeland were also held. On this front, the Greek anti-dictatorship resistance in Canada offers an opportunity to complement what is known about Greek homeland politics, but also to expand on what is currently known about immigrant communities and their trans-territorial political activity.

If there is one common thread that pervades this work and the most prominent works on homeland politics, it is that immigrant political space is a highly contested terrain; a space where meanings of the homeland are disputed and renegotiated. As Henri Lefebvre argues in *The*

⁴³ Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, York University. *Toronto Telegram Collection* (Greek Canadian History Project) , ASC08785.

⁴⁴ For more on the Greek War Relief Fund, see, Florence Macdonald, *For Greece A Tear: The Story of the Greek War Relief Fund of Canada*. (Fredericton: Brunswick Press, 1954).

Production of Space, “groups, classes or fractions of classes cannot constitute themselves, or recognize one another, as ‘subjects’ unless they generate (or produce) space.”⁴⁵ In other words, groups create or recognize imaginations, projections, and symbols that shape the essence of their identity. Furthermore, the symbols that make up an identity form a space that can be remembered, celebrated, and mythologized against other representations of political and public space. Additionally, the production of space is deliberate and often has the intention of forming, maintaining, and shaping power. Even seemingly innocuous symbols have purposeful meanings. As Lefebvre argues, “Ideas, representations or values which do not succeed in making their mark on space, and thus generating (or producing) an appropriate morphology, will lose all pith and become mere signs, resolve themselves into abstract descriptions, or mutate into fantasies”. How space is consumed and dictated has real world repercussions, argues Lefebvre, who also adds that, “the production of space – has nothing incidental about it: it is a matter of life and death.”⁴⁶ Lefebvre’s view on how groups create self-meaning through the production of space resonates in the leading academic texts on homeland politics.

The way that homeland political consciousness is shaped and contested in immigrant communities varies across time and space. In Carmela Patrias’ work, *Patriots and Proletarians*, the author argues that immigrant politicization is a response to the immigrant experience.⁴⁷ In her work on Hungarians in Canada from 1919 to 1939, Patrias critiques John Bodnar, among others, who argue that immigrants brought their politics and associational life from their country

⁴⁵ Lefebvre, pg. 416

⁴⁶ Ibid, pg. 417

⁴⁷ Carmela Patrias, *Patriots and Proletarians: Politicizing Hungarian Immigrants in Interwar Canada*. (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s Press, 1994).

of origin. As she explains, Hungarian organizations were an important response to the prejudices and hardships faced by immigrants. In many ways, they elevated the dignity of Hungarians who were relegated to the lowest rungs of Canada's socio-economic ladder. Most importantly, Patrias argues that it is a middle-class, or community elites, that facilitate the interaction between migrants's adopted home and country of origin. In the Hungarian community, leaders within two ideologically polarized camps, nationalist and communist, competed for the loyalties of their compatriots.

The findings of this dissertation support some of Patrias's conclusions. Like the Hungarians, Greek working-class actors possessed the skills to organize public rallies, write letters to politicians and to the media, and engage in other important forms of political mobilization. In contrast to the majority of Greeks who came from rural settings with limited education, those involved in anti-dictatorship activities demonstrated a comfort with political organization. Similar to the Hungarian case, political polarization was present in the Greek communities of Toronto and Montreal. As seen in Chapter One, other community elites wished to undercut the legitimacy of those in the anti-junta camp. While the community's ideological divide is similar to that studied by Patrias, the Greek case presents some unique findings that transcend her work's temporal boundaries.

In contrast to the prewar era, the period 1967 to 1974 gave workers access to unprecedented resources through the welfare state. The attractiveness of proletarian ideology due to the exploitation of workers expressed by Patrias was blunted in the case of Canada's Greek

community because of the state's ability to take care of workers. In the postwar period, the need for a petite bourgeoisie as an intermediary between the immigrant and host society was dramatically lower as government programs took on the task of integration. Churches and community elites occupied a much smaller space in the material interest of their compatriots. It should be noted that community institutions still performed this work, but their hold on new immigrants was not what it once was.⁴⁸ This difference illuminates another side to understanding homeland politics in Canada, but it also has immense implications for understanding the specificities of Greek immigrants in the post-World War II period; particularly since the existing historiography on Greek immigrants in Canada is influenced by works like John Porter's 1965 study, *The Vertical Mosaic*.

Porter argues that the link between class and ethnicity is evidence of ethnic stratification.⁴⁹ The field of Greek immigrant studies uses the idea of entry into the lowest rungs of the Canadian socio-economic ladder as a foundational premise. The historical evidence supports this assertion, but at the same time, it neglects actors who engaged in meaningful representations of transnational politics, but did not have an overwhelming resonance within Canada's Greek population. Since most academic studies focus on the Greek immigrant masses

⁴⁸ Churches and community institutions continue to provide some services to Greek immigrants, however, government services started in the 1960s to provide immigrants with information on jobs, language, and skill training. For more on these services, see Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, York University Libraries. George Papadatos Collection (Greek Canadian History Project).

⁴⁹ Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic*. The view of Porter is challenged by A. Gordon Darroch and Michael D. Ornstein, "Ethnicity and Occupational Structure in Canada in 1871: The Vertical Mosaic in Historical Perspective," *Canadian Historical Review* Volume LXI, 3, (1980), who argue that the link between ethnicity and occupational ranking is less prevalent than Porter suggests.

who were mainly unskilled workers,⁵⁰ they tend to leave out the elites who were attempting to organize their compatriots. The bottom-up view put forward by the dominant studies illuminates the difficulties of immigrant life, most notably in the realms of social and economic integration; tending to gloss over the diversity of experience that existed in the lives of Greek immigrants. Chapter One discusses this in more detail and highlights the lack of large scale participation in Andreas Papandreou's Panhellenic Liberation Movement (PAK) and local community institutions like the Greek Community of Toronto.

This inspires another important theme tackled by this study, which is the role of prominent individuals in shaping ethnic homeland consciousness and political movements. The question, posed by Terrence Lyons and Peter Mandaville as, "Who is doing the mobilizing?"⁵¹ is an important one because it leads to a conclusion most notably posited by Carmela Patrias⁵²; that a small elite frames the consciousness of ethnic communities. In the case of Hungarians, Patrias contends that without these leaders, group consciousness would be quite homogenous and reflective of a common experience as immigrants. Indeed, the findings of this study are similar. As the dictatorship in Greece became a political focal point, a small group of politically mobilized Greek immigrants began work to shape opinion against the Greek government. Similar to Patrias who found that, "For Hungarian immigrants, homeland concerns were not abstract considerations or exercises in nostalgia to be entertained during moments of leisure; they

⁵⁰ Also see Peter Chimbos and Carol Agocs, "Kin and Hometown Networks as Support Systems for the Immigration and Settlement of Greek Canadians," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 15, no. 2 (1983).

⁵¹ Terrence Lyons and Peter Mandaville, eds, *Politics from Afar: Transnational Diasporas and Networks*. (London: Hurst & Company, 2012), pg. 13.

⁵² Also see, Ian Radforth, *Bushworkers and Bosses: Logging in Northern Ontario, 1900-1980*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

formed an integral part of the quest to define what it meant to be Hungarian in Canada”⁵³, many Greeks analyzed in the pages to follow sought to support a pro-democracy narrative for Greece. The campaign had many symbolic victories that were primarily driven by a small group of adept organizers. While the numbers of Greek immigrants joining anti-dictatorship groups were negligible, the issue of Greek democratic change was discussed in parliament, in mainstream newspapers, academic institutions, city halls, and other important sites of power.

Homeland politics can also involve a variety of other actors, especially governments. This is evident in John Zucchi’s *Italians in Toronto*. The work includes a chapter on the 1920s and 1930s when Rome engaged in a nation-building project through its consular officials abroad. The campaign was meant to stir up favourable sympathies for Italy’s fascist regime. Zucchi highlights the success of the campaign because of the apathy of Italian immigrants and their inability to fully understand the political ideology to which they subscribed.⁵⁴ The successes of Mussolini prior to World War II also helped to elevate the profile of Italians who often faced discrimination in Anglo Canadian society. In the Greek case, consular officials were less relevant in heightening ethnic pride for Greeks in Canada. In certain cases, Greek consulates were accused of existing exclusively for the purposes of buoying the Greek regime. Consular officials were even thought to be using intimidation methods to silence anti-junta voices abroad. In addition to this dynamic, the Greek Orthodox Church was blamed of being a collaborator in hushing views that were critical of the Greek regime. As Chapter Three shows, critics of the junta accused the Church of hypocrisy; charging that Christianity and the state terror imposed by

⁵³ Patrias, pg. 7

⁵⁴ John Zucchi, *Italians in Toronto: Development of a National Identity, 1875 – 1935*. (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1988).

the dictatorship were, by every measure, incompatible. Similar to Zucchi's work, this dissertation highlights some continuity with homeland consciousness and the role played by foreign institutions in Canada. Similarly, Greek consuls and churches were conduits through which the Greek government wished to carry out its work abroad.

As other works on homeland politics explain, immigrant socio-economic status plays an important role in shaping homeland politics. In John Kolasky's *Shattered Illusion*, the author looks at the decline of communist organizations in Canada's Ukrainian population and points to the decline in the immigrant dilemma as a key reason for their demise. Additionally, the author demonstrates that changing perceptions of the Soviet Union and Ukrainians within the communist empire had important implications for Ukrainian Canadians. Initially attracted to communist organizations because of difficult immigrant conditions and Anglo hostility, the author argues that pro-communist organizations were disillusioned by Soviet actions in the 1960s and 1970s and also undermined by displaced persons who snubbed their ideology. Having lived under the Soviet regime, the newcomers to Canada flocked to nationalist organizations who argued that Ukraine was a colony under Soviet rule.⁵⁵ Kolasky demonstrates that politics abroad had implications for Ukrainian identity in Canada. Similar to Patrias, Kolasky shows that circumstances related to class sometimes manifest themselves in expressions of ethnicity.

⁵⁵ John Kolasky, *The Shattered Illusion: The History of Ukrainian Pro-Communist Organizations in Canada*. (Toronto: PMA Books, 1979). For an analysis of how similar divisions over the Soviet Union influenced Lithuanians in Canada, see, Mylda Danys, *DP: Lithuanian Immigration in Canada After the Second World War*. (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1986).

Like the Ukrainian case, events in Greece were used as justification to either endorse or oppose Greece's dictatorship. However, this dissertation has two important differences from Kolasky. First, the homeland regimes in Greece and the Soviet empire were on opposite sides of the political spectrum. This important distinction means that narratives around freedom and economic justice were different. In the Greek case, opinion from the Canadian government, Canadians, and Greek immigrants were sometimes divided on the usefulness of a fascist dictatorship. In the context of the Cold War, many saw Greece as a geopolitical dividing line between East and West. In many cases, the anti-communist stance of the Greek dictatorship was enough to justify a toleration of the country's crackdown on civil liberties. This also shows that homeland politics is not simply an immigrant space. At times, Canada's foreign interests trump its moral political outlook. As Chapter Two demonstrates, many Canadians responded to the military *coup* in Greece through various forms of activism. But, the Canadian government remained neutral on the subject and insisted that it cannot get involved in another country's internal affairs. This political narrative is vastly different than the one found in Kolasky's work.

The pervasiveness, or lack thereof, of membership in immigrant political organizations is another unique facet of the Greek case. As Chapter Five shows, Greek communists were relatively unsuccessful at organizing their compatriots in considerable ways. While the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) was able to mobilize and recruit Greek comrades, the vision of the Greek members was to influence political change in Greece. The CPC strove to have their Greek recruits work towards Canadian-centred ends, but a difference in goals inspired a variety of tensions. Even the immensely popular political figure, Andreas Papandreou, did not motivate Greek immigrants to join the anti-dictatorship front en masse. Papandreou is widely celebrated in

Greece's national history for his efforts to bring down Greece's dictatorship, but, as Chapter One argues, his appeal to the average Greek immigrant was negligible. In reality, Papandreou's following in Canada mainly consisted of activists, academics, and students. Caught up in the dilemma of making ends meet, most Greek immigrants found little value in organizations that did not improve their material reality in Canada. Again, the influence of the Canadian welfare state during Canada's Greek moment is an important difference between this dissertation and the most prominent works on homeland politics.

Recent works on homeland politics have shown that a focus on politics can glean valuable insights about how Canada is used as resistance to foreign regimes. The case of Chilean exiles in Canada offers an important historical example. Following the Chilean military *coup* on September 11, 1973, many of the country's political Left were forced to leave in order to escape the violence imposed by the new political regime. As Francis Peddie explains in his work on the Chilean exiles in Toronto, each individual in the cohort shared the experience of forced migration. Peddie also notes that the 1973 Chilean migrants "were only grudgingly admitted to Canada."⁵⁶ Like the Greek actors in this dissertation, the Chileans included in Peddie's study, "often became active members of solidarity groups that opposed the dictatorship in Chile and protested other human rights abuses that were linked to American imperial policy in Latin American countries and the rest of the world." Their politics also brought them into contact with the host society as their political mobilization spread to other causes. What Peddie's work demonstrates is that studying the politics of migrants can illuminate some lesser-known aspects

⁵⁶ Francis Peddie, *Young, Well-Educated, and Adaptable: Chilean Exiles in Ontario and Quebec, 1973 – 2010*. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2014), pg. 1.

of Canadian society, migrant communities, and how the two mix in ways that challenge established notions of nation-state borders. This dissertation contributes to the emerging trend of political history in immigrant communities and highlights the importance of local spaces.

Spying

One of the most compelling nuances of this dissertation is the theme of spying. Following World War II, Canada underwent change that reconfigured the contours of its national identity. As is often the case with massive conflict, the war changed Canada's evolution. The postwar period not only ushered in a new international context, it changed the nation's social, economic, and political identity. As historian Jack Granatstein argues, "The Great War had sped the transition of Canada from colony to semi-autonomous state; the Second World War saw this semi-autonomy alter rapidly into genuine nation-hood."⁵⁷ The Cold War added a layer of complexity to the country's identity. The East-West conflict inspired by competing political and economic systems pervaded most facets of Canadian life. While espousing freedom and liberal-democratic values, Canada also adopted a form of social conservatism that informed debate on the health of the nation. In determining what qualities "proper" citizens ought to possess, immigrants were inevitably implicated in the discussion. In a context that saw newcomers mix with an emerging, yet still loosely defined Canadian identity, Canadians mused about the meanings of family, citizenship, race, ethnicity, gender, and even economic citizenship. Capitalist consumerist values became an important marker of identity in the Cold War context. In a study of immigrant life in postwar Canada, Franca Iacovetta writes, "In a push to have newcomers conform to 'Canadian ways' – which usually reflected Anglo-Canadian middle-class

⁵⁷ J.L. Granatstein, *Canada's War: The Politics of the Mackenzie King Government, 1939-1945*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), pg. 424.

ideals – the accent was on everything from food customs and child-rearing methods, or marriage and family dynamics, to participatory democracy and anti-communist activism.”⁵⁸ Disciplining immigrants to be good workers, consumers, parents, and overall citizens was a task taken up by workplace bosses, social workers, journalists, and others, but it was also a task taken on by the security arm of the Canadian state.⁵⁹

This aspect of the Greek immigrant experience in Canada has never been examined before. Consequently, this study illuminates a history of Greeks in Canada that has, until now, evaded our collective memory. This is a history that has been buried in the depths of security state archives. That thousands of surveillance files exist on Greek immigrants will probably come as a surprise to many. However, in the search for internal enemies, Greeks, one of Canada’s largest immigrant cohorts of the 1960s and 1970s, were inevitably caught in a widespread surveillance sweep. For Greek immigrant studies specifically, this news cuts against the grain of our understanding of this immigrant group. But for those who study Cold War Canada and immigration during this time period, this news is probably expected. As Iacovetta notes, “Canada fought a largely secret but often dirty Cold War, one that trampled on civil rights in the name of protecting liberal rights and democratic freedoms.”⁶⁰ Government elites guided Canadian popular opinion and attitudes toward a conservative Cold War consensus that publicly

⁵⁸ Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada*. (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006), pg. 11.

⁵⁹ Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*. For more on Canadian society during the Cold War, see, Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada*; Tarah Brookfield, ed., *Cold War Comforts: Canadian Women, Child Safety, and Global Insecurity*. (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2012); Robert Allen Rutherford, Magdalena Fahrni, and Marcel Martel, eds., *Creating Postwar Canada: Community Diversity, and Dissent, 1945 – 75*. (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2008).

⁶⁰ Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers*, pg. 18

and punitively branded anyone outside of this mould as harmful to the well-being of the nation.⁶¹ When speaking of how Cold War politics had come to influence immigrants and immigration policy, Reg Whitaker argues, “The Canadian state ha[d] erected a detailed framework of ideological and political criteria for selection and exclusion. It [...] insisted that it wishe[d] to keep out certain ideas and certain beliefs, just as it wishe[d] to keep out certain germs and contagious diseases.”⁶² While the political situation in Greece was about the collision of historical forces following the country’s civil war, in Canada, containing communism, the CPC, and their Greek comrades was much more about the state’s role to enforce capitalistic discipline, ideological conformity, and liberal democratic values.

The existing literature on surveillance identifies who the RCMP found to be a threat to Canadian national security during the Cold War. A variety of actors were observed with suspicion.⁶³ As Gary Kinsman et al explain, the state “monitored high-school students, gays and lesbians, trade unionists, and left-wing political groups, including Communists, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), and the New Democratic Party (NDP), as well as feminists and consumer housewives’ associations.”⁶⁴ Underscoring the concern of subversion was a fear of communism. In Toronto, the surveillance of Greeks in the CPC fit into a much larger narrative of ethnic suspicion. As early as the 1950s, the RCMP was known to have complete records of

⁶¹ Reg Whitaker and Gary Marcuse, *Cold War Canada: The Making of a National Insecurity State, 1945-1957*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), pg. 14.

⁶² Reg Whitaker, *Double Standard: The Secret History of Canadian Immigration*. (Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys Limited, 1987), pg. 9.

⁶³ This dissertation focuses on the postwar period, but for more on state surveillance pre-dating World War II, see Larry Hannant, *The Infernal Machine: Investigating the Loyalty of Canada’s Citizens*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

⁶⁴ Gary Kinsman, Dieter K. Buse, and Mercedes Steedman, eds. *Whose National Security? Canadian State Surveillance and the Creation of Enemies*. (Toront: Between the Lines, 2000), pg. 1.

foreign language newspapers that were disseminating dangerous ideas.⁶⁵ Mark Kristmanson argues, that “Such a rich resource for cultural history research exists *only* because ethnocultural communities were the objects of the liberal state’s distrust and surveillance, and this presents one face of the culture-security paradox. The xenophobic and suspicious mounted policemen were, equally, the sensitive custodians of materials for a plural, multilingual, and non-cultural-nationalist history.”⁶⁶ In Quebec, studies reveal that communism had become a top priority during the tenure of Quebec’s Premier, Maurice Duplessis (1936 to 1939 and 1944 to 1959). But, as Quebec’s nationalist discourse began to take on radical tones in the 1960s, tensions in Montreal reached unparalleled levels. As one informant from Quebec put it,

Quebec had changed. Everyone knew that something important had happened here during the 1960s, but no one could say where it would end.

We lived through that period day by day and we called it the Quiet Revolution. Our society, so long ultra-stable, suddenly was changing faster than any other area in North America. Previously, anthropologists had come to Quebec to study it as an example of a ‘folk society.’ Now, a revolutionary ferment was working in us, undermining our commitment to the past. The future had become a matter of wild surmise.⁶⁷

Steven Hewitt reveals that in light of this context, Quebec nationalism became a target for RCMP surveillance.⁶⁸ In light of Sean Mills’s work, *The Empire Within*, which argues that Montreal was a hotbed of political activism in the postwar period, this should not be surprising. As prominent thinkers influenced by global movements descended on the city, Mills notes, “No

⁶⁵ Mark Kristmanson, *Plateaus of Freedom: Nationality, Culture, and State Security in Canada 1940 -1960*. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2003), pg. xv.

⁶⁶ Ibid

⁶⁷ Carole de Vault with William Johnson, *The Informer: Confessions of an Ex-Terrorist*. (Toronto: Fleet Books, 1982).

⁶⁸ Steven Hewitt, *Spying 101: The RCMP’s Secret Activities at Canadian Universities, 1917 – 1997*. (Toronto: Univeristy of Toronto Press, 2002), pg. 15; also see Jeff Sallot, *Nobody Said No: The Real Story About how the Mounties Always Get Their Man*. (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1979); Robert Dion, *Crimes of the Secret Police*. (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1982).

North American city was as profoundly affected by Third World theory as Montreal.”⁶⁹

Accordingly, not only was the RCMP interested in communist activity, but also ethnic group collaboration that was informed by a consciousness resistant to imperialism and colonization.

The scope of state surveillance inevitably reached immigrant communities. Other scholars have written about the various ways that the Canadian state has researched, deported, arrested, and disciplined immigrants or racial “others” at times where the country was under threat. The literature reveals that investigating moral, economic, and political threats in immigrant communities dates back to the early-twentieth-century.⁷⁰ But, this study fills a gap in the current literature. As Chapters Four and Five demonstrate, Canada’s own politicized environment shaped the thinking of RCMP investigators who compiled reports of potentially dangerous Greek immigrant activity in Toronto and Montreal. They reveal that the Canadian state had heightened sensitivities around cross-ethnic pollination in the more politically charged space of Montreal. For this reason, the examination of security files related to Greeks in two different Canadian urban spaces, sheds light on how local contexts inform state perceptions of groups and movements. Essentially, this dissertation makes the case that where an immigrant chose to live had implications for how they were perceived by Canadian security forces. By comparing how subversiveness was researched, framed, and categorized by the state, the

⁶⁹ Sean Mills, *The Empire Within: Postcolonial Thought and Political Activism in Sixties Montreal*. (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010), pg. 3.

⁷⁰ Barbara Roberts, *Whence They Came: Deportation from Canada, 1900 – 1935*. (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1988); Franca Iacovetta, Roberto Perin, and Angelo Principe, eds., *Enemies Within: Italian and Other Internees in Canada and Abroad*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Ann Gomer Sunahara, *The Politics of Racism: The Uprooting of Japanese Canadians During the Second World War*. (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1981); Patricia Roy, J.L. Granatstein, Masako Iino, and Hiroko Takamura, eds. *Mutual Hostages: Canadians and Japanese during the Second World War*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Thomas Prymak, *Maple Leaf and Trident: The Ukrainian Canadians During the Second World War*. (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1988).

perceived threat of Greeks is revealed; but so too are the historical nuances of Canada that led to heightened security concerns in Montreal.

Memory of Resistance

The history of resistance to Greece's dictatorship is rife with division. In the contemporary period, Greece's political and economic situation has rehashed the consequences of politics past. As a result, the meaning of Greece's "Polytechnic Generation," named after the occupation of the Athens Polytechnic in November 1973, is constantly renegotiated. The iconic moment of students calling for democratic freedom and subsequently having their protest violently suppressed by tanks and other violent means is simultaneously revered and despised depending on where one sits in the political spectrum. In a seminal work on the resistance movement in Greece, Kostis Kornetis notes that, "...it remains imprinted in Greek collective memory that it was the students of the Polytechnic who brought down the Junta,"⁷¹ which he later contrasts by opining, "the Polytechnic Generation has currently come under attack as being politically accountable for the vast economic and political crisis that hit Greece after 2009."⁷²

Like other academic texts that Kornetis's work responds to, there is a virtual absence of how Greeks mobilized outside of Greece.⁷³ While Kornetis deserves praise for his analysis of students resistance and cultural politics in 1960s Greece, there is a large gap left in our understanding of how Greeks abroad interpreted and reacted to the dictatorship. Like today,

⁷¹ Kostis Kornetis, *Children of the Dictatorship: Student Resistance, Cultural Politics, and the 'Long 1960s' in Greece*. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013), pg. 2.

⁷² Ibid, pg. 3

⁷³ One notable exception is Dan Georgakas, "Greek-American Radicalism: The Twentieth Century," in eds. Paul Buhle and Dan Georgakas, *The Immigrant Left in the United States*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996).

Greece in the 1960s saw a great number of its youth leave for opportunities elsewhere. As this dissertation shows, many of them remained focused on Greek politics, particularly following the 1967 military *coup*. Even prominent works on Andreas Papandreou, an iconic figure of the anti-dictatorship movement abroad, rarely mention the politician's time in exile. While he is known for his political impact in Greece prior to 1967 and after 1974, his influence in cities with large Greek populations outside of Greece is scantily mentioned. Even Toronto, one of the centres of resistance, is barely known to have served any purpose in the mobilizations that took place outside of Greece.

Despite this symbolic sweeping under the rug, on 30 March 1983, Papandreou visiting as Greek Prime Minister, spoke to enthusiastic supporters at Toronto's Royal York Hotel giving, "a half-hour speech which resembled a report to constituents".⁷⁴ Papandreou extolled the virtues of democracy and made the case that, "Toronto has been written in the history of modern Greece."⁷⁵ This dissertation is a step towards reconciling the historical record and pushing the Greek narrative to be more inclusive and trans-territorial, as it should be.

II. Political and Social Background

The event in Greece that would subsequently shape the political activity of many Greek immigrants in Canada occurred on 21 April 1967. On that day, explosive political cleavages in Greece reached a climax with a military coup d'état led by Colonels Giorgos Papadopoulos, Nikolaos Makarezos, and Brigadier General Stilianos Pattakos. The authoritarian regime, one

⁷⁴ Lorne Slotnick, "Thousands cheer Greek PM," *Globe and Mail*, Thursday, March 31, 1983.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*

that would become known as the junta or the colonels, imposed censorship on the press, deployed tanks in Athens, arrested prominent political leaders, took control of radio airwaves, and enacted many other repressive measures including torture on political prisoners to muzzle the Greek populace.⁷⁶ The colonels justified their move to power and suspension of democracy by arguing that a communist takeover was imminent in Greece.⁷⁷ While we know now that this was merely a pretext to shape widespread support, another underlying factor was to prevent the election of the Center Union government of George Papandreou in May.⁷⁸ The junta rose to power with precise calculation and no blood spilt. Aside from a royal counter coup by King Constantine on 13 December 1967 that was utterly hopeless, there was little popular revolt against the junta in Greece. As Stathis Kalyvas argues,

It is obviously impossible to know the extent to which Greek society supported the regime, but the absence of major acts of resistance and the overall good shape of the economy suggest that many people generally consented, passively if not actively. Of course, the regime was keen to deploy coercion in a highly selective fashion, targeting both well-known leftists and actual dissidents and submitting them to a regime of imprisonment, internal exile, and often torture.⁷⁹

Kalyvas's contention is reflected in the work of Neni Panourgiá, who argues that the Greek state had vilified the Greek Left long before the dictatorship rose to power.⁸⁰ The regime's ideology reflected Hellenic and Christian values, asserting that contemporary Greece was the embodiment

⁷⁶ Thomas Gallant, *Modern Greece*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); John A. Katris, *Eyewitness in Greece: The Colonels Come to Power*. (St. Louis: New Critics Press, Inc, 1971); Athenian, *Inside the Colonels' Greece*, trans. Richard Clogg (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Co Ltd, 1972); Robert McDonald, *Pillar and Tinderbox: The Greek Press and the Dictatorship*. (New York: Marion Boyars Ltd, 1983).

⁷⁷ Richard Clogg and George Yannopoulos, eds. *Greece Under Military Rule*. (London: Secker & Warburg, 1972), pg. 36; John S. Koliopoulos and Thanos M. Veremis, *Greece: The Modern Sequel From 1831 to the Present*. (New York: New York University Press, 2002), pg. 101;

⁷⁸ Keith R. Legg and John M. Roberts, *Modern Greece: A Civilization on the Periphery*. (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997), pg. 52; Koliopoulos and Veremis, pg. 101 – 102.

⁷⁹ Stathis Kalyvas, *Modern Greece: What Everyone Needs to Know*. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2015), pg. 110.

⁸⁰ Neni Panourgiá, *Dangerous Citizens: The Greek Left and the Terror of the State*. (New York: Fordham University Press, 2009).

of an unbroken past.⁸¹ At the same time, social and economic policies of the dictatorship were envisioned with an emphasis on modernization. As Keith Legg and John Roberts succinctly put it, “The regime also attempted to lay the foundation for progress and prosperity, with an emphasis on economic development, bureaucratic modernization, educational reform, social harmony, and a ‘healthy political life.’”⁸² In foreign policy, Greece remained in good standing within NATO and was an ally of the United States. While many, including in Toronto and Montreal, believed that the coup d’état was supported by the Americans (this view is still widespread), Kalyvas argues that, “...this interpretation is not supported by evidence.”⁸³

All told, the junta would hold power longer than any other dictatorship in Greece’s history and employ the most oppressive measures.⁸⁴ Colonel Papadopoulos remained at the helm until 1973, when an economic downturn combined with growing student protest, most notably at the Athens Polytechnic University where state brutality was witnessed on 25 November 1973, provided the impetus for Demetrios Ioannides to overthrow his colleague. Following this, as Victor Papacosma writes, “...in the span of a few dramatic days in mid-July 1974 a rapid sequence of critical incidents divested Greece of dictatorship and restored civilian rule. The Ioannides-sponsored plot to overthrow Archbishop Makarios on Cyprus, the Turkish invasion of the island and the chaotic mobilization of Greek reserves totally discredited and diplomatically isolated the junta which quickly exited on 23 July [1974].”⁸⁵ Subsequently, former Prime

⁸¹ Legg and Roberts, pg. 53.

⁸² Ibid

⁸³ Kalyvas, pg. 110

⁸⁴ S. Victor Papacosma, *The Military in Greek Politics: The 1909 Coup d’État*. (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1977), pg. 186.

⁸⁵ Ibid, pg. 188

Minister Constantine Karamanlis was invited from exile to organize a civilian government and organize elections by year's end.

Through this political turmoil, Greece was simultaneously experiencing unprecedented urban growth and emigration. Although much of the history of Greece's migrants focuses on those that left for other countries, the internal migration from rural to urban centres brought rapid change to the country. For example, from 1951 to 1980, the population of Athens had increased from 1.37 million to 3.5 million, which accounted for nearly 40 per cent of the country's total population.⁸⁶ Furthermore, between 1951 and 1981, the population of major cities grew by 3.5 million.⁸⁷ Broken down by decade, between 1951 and 1961 Greece's urban dwellers increased by 23.5 per cent to 3, 628, 105 in a population totalling 8, 388, 553.⁸⁸ The growth rate increased to 26.6 per cent between 1961 and 1971 bringing the urban population to 4, 505, 925 out of a total population of 8, 768, 641 (a population increase of 4.2 per cent). As the rural to urban tendency picked up steam, serious consequences began to develop for the countryside. While young people moved out of their villages, social and demographic imbalances began to have implications for the economic progress of small communities.⁸⁹ Since the private sector in large urban centers like Athens was unable to create sufficient job opportunities for those seeking employment, emigration to North America, Australia, and other European countries ramped up. The vast majority of those leaving did so to improve their lot. The country's political scene was less of a motivation for most Greeks that journeyed to Canada and elsewhere.

⁸⁶ A. F. Freris, *The Greek Economy in the Twentieth Century*. (London: Croom Helm, 1986), pg. 165.

⁸⁷ Ibid

⁸⁸ David Bennison, *Internal Migration in Greece Since 1951*, (University of Newcastle, Upon Tyne, Seminar Papers, Number 32, June 1976), pg. 2.

⁸⁹ Ibid, pg. 16.

The numerous Greek emigrants who had left the country prior to 1967 had created both psychological connections and easily navigable transportation lines that connected Greece with Greek communities abroad. From 1946 to 1981, 116, 300 Greeks left the country for work and opportunities in Canada alone. Between 1951 and 1981, 12.2 per cent of Greece's total population emigrated.⁹⁰ During the height of this outward movement, 1960 to 1970, 800,000 people left Greece, representing a 9.3 per cent net loss of the total average population. The majority of these people were young workers. Although the numbers seem staggering, the major outflow of population from Greece was largely a continuation of a mass exodus that had begun earlier in the twentieth century, mainly to the United States.

III. Greek Immigration to Canada

The majority of Greek immigrants in Canada settled in and around the suburbs of Toronto and Montreal. In 1931, Canada's total Greek immigrant population was 9,444.⁹¹ In 1941, the total stood at 11, 692 and grew to 13, 866 in 1951. The numbers drastically increased in the subsequent Canadian censuses to 56, 475 in 1961 and 124, 475 in 1971. According to a 1972 study, 56% of Greek immigrants in Ontario lived in Toronto, 17% in East York, 10% in Scarborough, 8% in North York, along with other small conglomerations.⁹² In Montreal, Greeks began to move en masse to Park Avenue and Park Extension, resembling an "invasion".⁹³ The

⁹⁰ Freris, pg. 163

⁹¹ George Vlassis, *The Greeks in Canada*. (Ottawa: George Vlassis, 1942), pg. 13.

⁹² Anthony H. Richmond, *Ethnic Residential Segregation in Metropolitan Toronto*. (Toronto: York University, Institute for Behavioural Research, Ethnic Research Programme, 1972).

⁹³ Gavaki and Tamis, pg. 121

concentration of Greek immigrants in Montreal and their relative diffusion in Toronto had consequences for mobilization around Greek issues. As Gavaki argues,

Toronto never reached the community organizational development and dynamism that Montreal did. The residential dispersion of the immigrants, not only in many cities within the province of Ontario, but also within the Metropolitan Area of Toronto itself, seems never to have given the critical mass and unity of purpose for the organizational development that Montreal achieved...Furthermore, the absence of French-English conflict (Ontario being English) seems to have broken down the ethnic group boundaries and created easier access into the larger Canadian society. Thus the need for community organizations was not as vital – or not felt to be as vital, as it was for the immigrants in Montreal.⁹⁴

Sociologist Judith Nagata's work supports this position. As the author discovered, "recent Greek immigrants of the working class are typically involved in relatively small social networks, hence are socially isolated and fragmented. Not only are their linkages with the wider host society limited, but even their ties with other Greeks and with Greek ethnic institutions are minimal."⁹⁵ Overall, they shared, only in the most general sense, a collective consciousness of "Greekness". The diverse regions of origin for Greeks in Toronto, Nagata observed, "effectively obstructs any overall unity of the settlement."⁹⁶

The largest sending regions of Greece were Laconia (southeastern part of the Peloponnese), Arcadia (central and eastern part of the Peloponnese), Florina (northwestern Greece), Kastoria (northern Greece), Greater Athens, and the islands.⁹⁷ Nagata's study suggests that in Toronto, the Greek population came from very diverse regional backgrounds.⁹⁸ One

⁹⁴ Ibid, pg. 192

⁹⁵ Judith Nagata, "Adaptation and Integration of Greek Working Class Immigrants in the City of Toronto, Canada: A Situational Approach," *International Migration Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (Autumn, 1969): pg. 45.

⁹⁶ Ibid, pg. 50

⁹⁷ Gavaki and Tamis, pg. 119

⁹⁸ Nagata, pg. 50

example of this difference was the prevalence of a North-South antagonism, which is virtually absent in Montreal-based analyses. A 1970s study on the Greek immigrants of Quebec, found that approximately 50% of Greek immigrants in Montreal had come from the Peloponnese, 12% from suburbs of Athens, 8% from Crete, and 9.67% from Northern Greece (Macedonia and Thrace).⁹⁹ Despite, differences in regional background, most Greek immigrants to Canada were socioeconomically homogenous. As Gavaki and Chimbos both point out, the great majority of Greek immigrants to Canada, particularly during the post-World War II period, came from rural backgrounds with few skills for an industrial economy and poor English capabilities.¹⁰⁰ As Gavaki argues, the most fitting paradigm to characterize the typical Greek immigrant of this era is that of the “urban villager”, a term borrowed from Herbert Gans to describe Italian immigrants in Boston.¹⁰¹ She explains that, “the term could be used to emphasize their rural socio-economic and cultural characteristics. They arrived with few or no skills, with low education, and without financial resources.”¹⁰² For the most part, Greek immigrants worked in low-skilled occupations. Reflecting language from John Porter’s widely known work on ethnic socio-economic stratification in Canada, Chimbos called the typical forms of work taken on by Greek immigrants as “entrance status”.¹⁰³ His analysis of the 1971 Census of Canada also brought him to the conclusion that,

Greek immigrants were in a relatively low occupational status compared to the total active Canadian population. Only six per cent of the employed Greek immigrants were in managerial and professional positions, compared with 17% of the total employed Canadian population. The majority of the Greeks, 63%, were found in service, recreation, manufacturing, mechanical and construction jobs,

⁹⁹ Stephanos Constantinides, *Les Grecs Du Québec: Analyse historique et sociologique*. (Quebec: Éditions O Metoikos – Le Métèque, 1983), pg. 27.

¹⁰⁰ See Gavaki and Tamis, pg. 119 – 120 and Chimbos, pg. 35.

¹⁰¹ Gavaki and Tamis, pg. 124; Herbert Gans, *The Urban Villagers*. (New York, 1962).

¹⁰² Ibid

¹⁰³ See John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971); Chimbos, pg. 48.

whereas only 32% of the total Canadian work force was found in those occupational categories...¹⁰⁴

Another prominent characteristic of most Greek immigrants in the time period of this study was low education. Given that most migrants grew up in rural economies that did not require an educated workforce, Greek immigrants often had a lower education level than the average Canadian.

IV. On Sources

Despite making the argument that borders are fluid, nation-states and the policing power that they hold, is an important component in the narrative of this dissertation. To a great extent, this study uses Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) surveillance documents (through Access to Information) of Greek immigrant political activity from 1967 to 1974. Even before considering their content, the mere existence of these records allows one to glean some important historical insights. First, despite moving away from racially based prerequisites and toward a migration system that privileged skills and economic progress, Canada was not immune to international fear as it related to the Cold War and communist containment. Another inference that can be made from the existence of these documents is the tenuous “other” position that Greek immigrants once held in relation to Canadian identity. While this ethnic group has now entered middle-class respectability, facilitated by Multiculturalism, surveillance on this group suggests that this was not inevitable.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Chimbos, pg. 48

¹⁰⁵ On this point, I would like to raise a very important distinction between Greek immigrants in the United States of America and Canada. Borrowing from Gerald Tulchinsky, *Taking Root: The Origins of the Canadian Jewish Community*. (Toronto: Lester Publishing Limited, 1992), I acknowledge some similarities between the Greek community of the United States and Canada, but I wish to stress that the two communities are vastly different.

On a practical level, using heavily redacted sources also has its frustrations. As Athena Palaeologu writes, “The large archives of the RCMP, the federal police, and some provincial police, are notoriously unreliable.”¹⁰⁶ While much of the information in the documents consulted contain specific detail, redaction of many individual names and personal details is understandably (and sometimes frustratingly) widespread. The sources are also far from neutral, given that those who constructed the records were tasked with researching and categorizing their subjects in a polarized political climate. This comes with recognition that there are limitations on how far this source can take researchers. While more than forty years have passed since the fall of Greece’s dictatorship, the Cold War legacy, the nature of surveillance documents, and the need for secrecy still renders large portions of these materials inaccessible. Despite these limitations, the release of some surveillance materials is significant for a broader understanding of how Greek politics were viewed in Canada. The historical documents also reveal how transatlantic migration mixed with global politics to construct a category of dangerous foreigners. What has been released is unprecedented. The wait of more than one year for these documents to be released from Access to Information has paid significant dividends for a more

Their temporal origins, regional settings, occupational background, and national context are dissimilar enough for me to argue that the Greek Canadian immigrant experience is exceptional. The term “probationary white” has been applied to Greeks in the USA by Yiorgos Anagnostou, but the much larger size of Greeks in the US, the country’s vastly different history of racial politics, and Canada’s own identity as it has been shaped by the idea of British empire and the English-French fact, has created a vastly different context. If the “probationary white” status can be applied to Greeks in Canada, and it should, it is most applicable to the post-World War II Greek immigrant cohort where Greeks were being assessed for their compatibility to Canadian identity. Anagnostou rightly notes that this process began much earlier in the United States, particularly in the 1930s. See Yiorgos Anagnostou, *Contours of White Ethnicity: Popular Ethnography and the Making of usable pasts in Greek America*. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009); Yiorgos Anagnostou, “Forget the Past, Remember the Ancestors! Modernity, “Whiteness,” American Hellenism, and the Politics of Memory in Early Greek America” *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 22, 1, May 2004.

¹⁰⁶ M. Athena Palaeologu, *The Sixties in Canada: A Turbulent and Creative Decade*. (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 2009), pg. xi.

complete understanding of how global and local political forces collided in Canadian cities during the long sixties.

This study also uses the archives of the federal government. As with the other sources employed by this dissertation, government archives are inherently biased. They reveal bureaucratic processes and privilege the narratives of “important” people. But, in contrast to the socioeconomic narrative that dominates our understanding of Greek immigrant history, a focus on politics through government archives reveals how Greeks got access to Canada’s spaces of power. What the government archive reveals is that Greece was an important geopolitical consideration for the federal government, but also that Greek activists were skilled at getting their cause noticed. Their access was demonstrably higher when Andreas Papandreou took a post at York University in 1969, which allowed others to use the Greek politician’s reputation to raise the profile of anti-junta activism. While significant research in government archives can silence a variety of important social actors, in the case of transnational Greek politics, the source reveals wide ranging activities that lead to new understandings of Greeks in Canada.

Other scarcely cited primary sources were also consulted for this dissertation. To a large extent, this study uses Greek and English newspapers. In the Greek language, there is a focus on leftist press, which had obvious anti-junta perspectives. The columns in Toronto’s *New Times* (*Νέοι Καιροί*) and *New World* (*Νέος Κόσμος*) alongside Montreal’s *Hellenic Postman* (*Ελληνικός Ταχυδρόμος*) and *Greek Canadian Tribune* (*Ελληνοκαναδικό Βήμα*), are immensely valuable as a display of transnational homeland politics. While many of the articles spoke to the plight of Greek immigrants in Canada, they often focused on the political situation in Greece.

The papers attempted to heighten the sense of duty that Greeks in Canada ought to have to Greece. In this endeavor, journalists were not objective, but this should not discount the value that can be gleaned from their words. The focus on these narratives illuminates a world of the Greek immigrant experience that has received scant attention in academic works. Similarly, Canadian newspapers like the *Toronto Star*, *Globe and Mail*, and *Montreal Gazette*, connected their readers with the politics of Greece. What is clear from columnists and concerned citizens is that the political situation in Greece was antithetical to Canadian values.

The research scaffolding of this project also includes various components of personal archives. The materials mainly consist of photographs, newspaper clippings, written materials like pamphlets, and written essays. The sources are an effective way of analyzing a broad range of activities and perspectives that are absent from official public records. This is an invaluable complement to the other primary sources used in this study. While there is a significant focus on particular anti-junta actors in this study, these archives have provided an opportunity to understand what type of people responded to calls of anti-junta activism. In interacting with these sources, it became very clear that this type of work is necessary, particularly given the dearth of primary and secondary source material that currently exists on Greeks in Canada. Out of this experience, the Greek Canadian History Project (GCHP) was born, which is an initiative that seeks to collect and preserve historical materials related to the Greek immigrant experience in Canada. The project brought this researcher into contact with the personal collections of Michail Vitopoulos and George Papadatos, which are now housed at the Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections at York University Libraries. In tandem, this dissertation and the GCHP reveal that there is still significant work to be done for the creation of an infrastructure upon

which a more complete understanding of the Greek immigrant experience can be built. The work of preservation continues.

V. Chapter Outline

Enclosed in this dissertation are five chapters. Chapter One examines the response to the dictatorship by Greek leftist organizations in Toronto and Montreal. It includes a close analysis of some of the prominent members and associations that were most engaged in mobilizing other Greeks and international opinion against Greece's authoritarian government. It analyzes the written campaigns to Canadian government officials, public protests, and education initiatives that Greek migrants, critical of the dictatorship, used to influence popular opinion and bring about political change in Greece. The most recognized anti-dictatorship force however, was Andreas Papandreou and his anti-dictatorship organization, the Pan-Hellenic Liberation movement (PAK). Papandreou brought Toronto into a larger web of global cities connected to the anti-dictatorship movement. Within Toronto, PAK and Papandreou became the dominant forces of resistance, essentially appropriating the voice of the Greek left in Canada. Papandreou also became a conduit through which Toronto was portrayed as a centre of anti-dictatorship resistance while simultaneously bringing the global resistance movement to Toronto.

Chapter Two examines Canadian (non-Greek) perspectives and support initiatives for democracy in Greece. The chapter situates non-Greek mobilization for democratic change in Greece in a broader context of the 1960s. In this generation, a newly formed idea that everyday people could actively shape the world around them informed a collective impulse to influence

change outside of Canadian boundaries. While solidarity campaigns to end various forms of oppression took on a variety of forms including an anti-war movement, an anti-material/capitalism movement (hippie culture), a women's movement, and others, many found that helping return Greece to its democratic institutions was a worthy cause for involvement.

Chapter Three looks at leftist Greek language resistance newspapers in Toronto and Montreal, which disseminated an anti-dictatorship message to Greek speakers in each city. *New Times*, *New World*, and *PAK News*¹⁰⁷ in Toronto along with *Hellenic Postman* and *Greek Canadian Tribune* in Montreal each fashioned a resistance narrative that wished to symbolically dismantle Greece's borders and bring the fight against authoritarianism to the doorstep of Greeks living in Canada. The leftist Greek language resistance newspapers in Toronto and Montreal were, in essence, a representation of the de-territorialized Greek state. The news related to Greece, the inclusion of activist language to influence the country, and discussions on the reach of the Greek state into Canada, each blurred the lines of Greece's national borders. Canada's urban spaces had become spaces of activism wishing to shape the politics of a distant nation.

Chapter Four examines how the Canadian state perceived Greek immigrant homeland politics in Montreal. It places resistance to Greece's military dictatorship within local and regional political influences that were instrumental in shaping Montreal's public dialogue, particularly as it related to issues of social and economic power, resistance, colonization, and

¹⁰⁷ PAK News appeared as an informational platform for Andreas Papandreou and the Pan-Hellenic Liberation Movement. Consequently, my analysis of *PAK News* occurs in the latter half of Chapter 1 as opposed to Chapter 3.

imperialism. In an era where the city had become an intellectual centre for Third-Worldism and Quebec nationalist discourse, it demonstrates that this politicized environment shaped the Canadian state's perception of Greek immigrant activities related to the country's military dictatorship. Given a growing awareness of possible political radicalism, which became reality in October 1970 during the FLQ Crisis, the Canadian state expanded its surveillance interest beyond communism to include Quebec nationalist activities. In casting a wider net, the Canadian state remained fearful of communist plots, but also of violent cross-pollination activities between politically mobilized immigrant groups and Quebecois sovereigntists. The chapter argues that the dynamic of French and English political tensions, unduplicated elsewhere, caused the Canadian state to view Greek immigrant homeland politics as more dangerous and militant than its counterpart in Toronto.

Chapter Five examines the Canadian state's security files of Greek homeland politics in Toronto and the relationship between the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) and its Greek immigrant recruits. The argument is twofold. First, in an international climate of Cold War anxieties, but distant from the nationalist politics of Quebec, the Canadian state was exclusively concerned with the threat of communist infiltration in Toronto's Greek community. The second main point is that the relationship between the CPC and the Nikos Beloyiannis Club, a Greek ethnic cell within the communist organization, was a space of contesting interest, particularly as it related to where and on what issues political mobilizations should focus. The chapter shows the continuity of homeland political allegiances among some immigrants, but also exemplifies that extreme political change like the 21 April 1967 Greek coup d'état, can intensify the political links between migrants and their place of origin.

While each chapter addresses a different nuance of anti-dictatorship activity in Canada, there are two common threads that pervade this entire dissertation. The first is the historical event that opens this chapter. The visit of King Constantine in late-August and early-September 1967 was incredibly important. The state visit happened just a few months after the coup in Greece. It stopped in the two Canadian cities with the largest Greek populations. Additionally, it inspired one of the most open displays of public protest ever seen by the Greek immigrant community. It displayed the polarization of Greek immigrants. Finally, the monarch's presence brought the politics of Greece to Canada in both symbolic and literal forms. The second common thread is the pervasiveness of anti-American imperialism sentiment. In the time period of this study, English Canada, French Canada, and Greece were experiencing "national" issues that brought each respective identity into question. Actors in each of the chapters that follow debated the moral implications of United States influence in the world. American hegemony required resistance. Public dialogue around the Vietnam War provided tangible examples of United States interest and foreign policy gone too far. Canada's relationship with its southern neighbour ignited spirited mainstream debate and raised questions about whether neighbourly interactions were too cozy. Anti-junta activists simultaneously questioned American involvement in the Greek coup.

The following five chapters are an analysis of one of the most important, but historically marginalized, movements in Greek Canadian history.

CHAPTER ONE

SHAPING GREECE FROM ABROAD: GREEKS IN CANADA MOBILIZE AGAINST THE DICTATORSHIP

“Contemporary migration has no single origin and no simple end.”¹⁰⁸

In many ways, the above quote and the narrative that follows is an anomaly, particularly for the Canadian historical consciousness. In popular conceptions of Greekness, migrants from Greece are believed to have left their villages in large numbers and prospered in North American cities. Their integration in Canadian life is celebrated. Like most other ethnic communities in Canada, those who have achieved a modicum of success are acclaimed for what can be accomplished by fellow compatriots. The story of rags to riches is worn as a badge of honour. Additionally, Greek diasporas across the country are quick to note that their remittances and return as tourists has at many times, economically buoyed the Greek nation-state. Academic texts reflect this narrative too. In the most widely known studies on Greeks in Canada, Greek immigrant integration is dominant. *The Canadian Odyssey* and *From Migrants to Citizens*, for example, each connote a starting and ending point in the process of migration. This virtual metamorphosis is coloured by various stories of success and hardship; however, there is one common thread: Greek immigrants enter middle-class respectability and become good Canadians.

¹⁰⁸ Nikos Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialization and Hybridity*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), pg. 4.



Fig. 2 – Demonstrators on University Avenue in Toronto, Ontario. Demonstrators at Greek consulate with signs, images (some containing swastikas) some of which read: “Greek-Flag since ’67,” “Greece Today,” “Down with the Greek Junta,” “No to Fascism,” 21 April 1970. Photographer: Brian Willer. Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, York University Libraries, Toronto Telegram Fonds, F0433, ASC08766.

The activities of many politicized migrants during the period of Greece's dictatorship is a counter-narrative to the one above. The tale of this group is not one that revolves around individual economic success or the ability of migrants to become disciplined subjects of the Canadian political and economic system. Unlike the dominant narrative, immigrants consumed with forcing political change in Greece from 1967 to 1974 were not exclusively focused on their own socio-economic advancement. Rather, many politicized Greek migrants chose to work towards political change in Greece. For these individuals, the North American urban context allowed for the creation of social spaces centered on resistance to power in a distant nation-state.¹⁰⁹ Following from this realization, this chapter argues that Canadian cities acted as de-territorialized spaces of resistance, where anti-junta leaders sought to mobilize Greeks and non-Greeks.

In an era when many social movements sought to progressively shape the world around them, Greeks in Canada engaged in political mobilization centered on political change in Greece.¹¹⁰ Figure 1 offers one of the most important examples. Taken on 27 August 1967, the photo depicts a demonstration targeting King Constantine during his visit to Toronto. Signs in the background call for freedom for political prisoners in Greece and also for the international community to refrain from recognizing the dictatorship. Leading the crowd is a young woman dressed in classical Greek dress with "Greece" written across her chest. Her hands are in chains, suggesting the stifling of Greece's intellectual, free, and democratic past. Also of importance is

¹⁰⁹ Michael Smith and Luis Eduardo Guarnizo, eds., *Transnationalism from Below*. (New Brunswick USA: Transaction Publishers, 1998), pg. 9.

¹¹⁰ For more on the broader context of protest in English Canada, see Chapter Two. For French Canada, see Chapter Four.



Fig. 3 – Protest rally at Queen’s Park, Anna Tsarnas, dressed as “Greece in chains” alongside crowd, Toronto, 27 August 1967. Telegram staff photographer. Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, York University Libraries, Toronto Telegram Fonds, F0433, ASC08764.



Fig. 4 – Men unload protest signs from a truck decorated with banners; one says “Democracy started in Greece Now there is tyranny Help Greece become free,” Queen’s Park, Toronto, 27 August 1967. Photographer: Russell. Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, York University Libraries, Toronto Telegram Fonds, F0433, ASC08729.



Fig. 5 – Crowd protesting in the rain, with signs: “Democracy or Death,” “Don’t make Greece another Vietnam,” “Down with the dictatorship,” Queen’s Park, Toronto, 27 August 1967. Photographer: Russell. Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, York University Libraries, Toronto Telegram Fonds, F0433, ASC08732.

where the march took place. While not directly visible, in the background stands Queen's Park, the Ontario Legislature and the starting point for the protest. The terms freedom and justice are displayed throughout the crowd who chose this symbolic space in order to emphasize that Greece's military junta was engaged in a systematic strangulation of these important ideals and that King Constantine was supporting the regime. This symbolism sought to shape broader public opinion. Most of these public displays targeted Canadian audiences in a broader campaign of leftist organizations to isolate the junta; most notably by shaping international opinion against the Greek state. In Montreal, Constantine's visit was greeted by a similar response, including a protest outside of the king's hotel where police had to blare their sirens to cover up the noise.¹¹¹ While the crowd engaged in a historically important moment, their actions to influence political change in Greece is a critical revision and distinct departure from the popularized immigrant image that dominates the academic and popular perceptions of Greekness.

The lens of transnationalism is a useful category of analysis for a more complete understanding of how some Greek immigrants used migration and Canadian cities to political ends. This is especially true for the period 1967 to 1974 because Greece was experiencing a period of crisis. The dictatorship in Greece became a focal point that turned the attention of some migrants toward their homeland. As Elliot Barkan argues, "International crises or serious disruptions and upheavals in the homeland can likewise readily divert men and women from focusing on their incorporation into the host society."¹¹² Consequently, the physical boundaries of Greece grew in significance because of the increased capacity to apply punitive measures

¹¹¹ "Toronto Greeks Give King Mixed Welcome," *Montreal Gazette*, Monday, August 28, 1967.

¹¹² Elliott Barkan, *Immigration, Incorporation & Transnationalism*. (New Brunswick USA: Transaction Publishers, 2007), pg. 3.

against political dissidents. Given the basic characteristics of the nation-state, “the formation of territorial rule and a monopoly on the use of force, the formation of a sovereign and unified nation, the intervention into the most varied areas of life, and the collectivization of social risks by means of a state-sponsored welfare system,”¹¹³ the control of these functions by a heavy-handed military government forced activism underground, but also outside of the country’s boundaries. Given Canada’s growing acceptance of Greek immigrants, it became a space of political activism against the Greek state.

According to Luin Goldring and Sailaja Krishnamurti, “the term transnationalism is generally used to describe people who feel that they belong to and/or organize their daily lives around more than one nation-state.”¹¹⁴ The authors add that the term transnational communities “could refer to migrants from the same town, region, ethnic group, or country.”¹¹⁵ In many ways, this means that certain aspects of the Greek migrant experience in Canada can be characterized as transnational. The consumption of news from abroad, the formation of village associations, and the creation of cultural exchange initiatives centered on dance, theatre, etc., each meet the above criteria. But, anti-junta activism differs from these other Greek migrant activities because it was politically motivated. As Thomas Faist explains, “Transnational social and symbolic ties and linkages are particularly visible among migrants and refugees who mobilize and struggle for

¹¹³ Steffen Mau, *Social Transnationalism: Lifeworlds beyond the nation-state*. (New York: Routledge, 2010), pg. 7.

¹¹⁴ Luin Goldring and Sailaja Krishnamurti, *Organizing the Transnational: Labour, Politics, and Social Change*. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), pg. 5.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*

political change in their former or prospective homelands.”¹¹⁶ This was certainly true for Greeks who took a public stand against Greece’s military dictatorship.

The exact form of Greek homeland politics took on various manifestations in Canada. Steven Vertovec, a prominent theorist of transnationalism, argues that, this is not uncommon. In his study of the political nuances of transnational spaces, the author writes that the politics of homeland can appear in many forms, including, “exile groups organizing themselves for return, groups lobbying on behalf of a homeland, external offices of political parties, migrant hometown associations, and opposition groups campaigning or planning actions to effect political change in the homeland.”¹¹⁷ What is important here is the notion of participation in a community even while living outside of the community’s boundaries. While, as Vertovec argues, the degree to which a migrant feels a connection to a political cause may vary in important ways, it is a re-conceptualization of identity that underscores many forms of political transnationalism. Vertovec notes that “homeland political allegiance and engagement rests on the re-configuration of identities – borders – orders, such that people from a particular place regard themselves as legitimate members of the collective identity and social order of a place even though they are outside its borders.”¹¹⁸ In Canada during the period of 1967 to 1974, Toronto and Montreal became centres of political transnationalism in a way that represented a “deterritorialized” Greek nation-state.¹¹⁹ The “deterritorialization and reterritorialization” of Greek political life in Canada

¹¹⁶ Thomas Faist, “Developing Transnational Social Spaces: The Turkish-German Example,” in *Migration and Transnational Social Spaces* ed. Ludger Pries. (Brookfield, USA: Ashgate, 1999), pg. 52.

¹¹⁷ Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism*. (New York: Routledge, 2009), pg. 84.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, pg. 96

¹¹⁹ Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States*. (Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach Publishers, 1994).

created a space of activity that operated across nation-state boundaries.¹²⁰ In the urban spaces that saw Greeks protesting, organizing, and engaging in other types of activism against the Greek government, multifocal identities were imagined and re-imagined.

As the thesis of this dissertation illustrates, environments matter because of the profound influence that they have on shaping the contours - acceptable public discourse, activist frameworks, and broader perceptions - of social and political movements. As Ayse Caglar and Nina Glick Schiller note, “Despite the vast migration scholarship on what are labeled ethnic, transnational, or diasporic communities in specific cities, we still know very little about how migrants actively contribute to the restructuring and repositioning of either their cities of settlement or those to which they are transnationally connected.”¹²¹ In the case of politically active Greek migrants during the years 1967 to 1974, the borders between Canadian cities and Greece were particularly blurred.

In Toronto and Montreal, mobilization against Greece’s dictatorship took on several forms by different groups. Greeks organized resistance networks whose *raison d’être* were rooted in both the Canadian experience and political ties that had formed in Greece (in most cases long before the 21 April 1967 military coup). As Carmela Patrias argues in *Patriots and Proletarians*, the politicization and mobilization of group consciousness among immigrants is driven by elites

¹²⁰ Myria Georgiou, *Diaspora, Identity and the Media: Diasporic transnationalism and mediated spatialities*. (Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press, 2006).

¹²¹ Ayse Caglar and Nina Glick Schiller, “Introduction: Migrants and Cities,” in *Locating Migration: Rescaling Cities and Migrants* eds. Glick Schiller and Caglar. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), pg. 2.

who shape narratives according to their own interests.¹²² Patrias's argument certainly fits the narrative of this chapter quite neatly with one important modification, which is that the response of the Greek immigrant rank and file – or lack thereof – was not large or ubiquitous. While elites in the community wished to organize their immigrant compatriots, their political homeland consciousness never gained a wide following. Politically motivated groups like the Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece (Toronto), Canadian Committee for Democracy in Greece (Montreal), Makrygiannis (Montreal), United Democratic Left (EDA), Pan-Hellenic Liberation Movement (PAK), Friends of PAK, Rigas Feraios (a student anti-junta organization), Patriotic Anti-Dictatorship Front (PAM), the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), and many individuals mobilized for political change in Greece. There was intense competition between the groups to dominate and dictate anti-dictatorship activities in Canada. The simultaneous struggle for democratic change in Greece and the desire to control resistance in Canada characterize the transnational space during Greece's military dictatorship.

Confronting the force of American imperialism was a dominant theme in resistance activities. In Canada, historian David S. Churchill explains that English Canadian nationalism was fostered by anti-war sentiment and the idea that Canada had become too dependent on the United States.¹²³ Opposition to the war in Vietnam and cynicism towards United States imperialism informed public discourse, particularly as it related to the acceptance into Canada of draft resisters.¹²⁴ Reflecting on Canada's centennial year, one of Canada's most well known

¹²² Carmela Patrias, *Patriots and Proletarians: Politicizing Hungarian Immigrants in Interwar Canada*. (Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1994), pg. 9.

¹²³ David S. Churchill, "Draft Resisters, Left Nationalism, and the Politics of Anti-Imperialism," *The Canadian Historical Review*, Volume 93, Number 2 (June 2012): pp. 227 – 260, pg. 231.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*

writers, Pierre Berton, remembered the Canadian public engaged in questions like, “How cosy should we get with the Americans? Are we selling our souls for a mess of pottage? How much of the country’s resources can we afford to peddle to foreigners? How can we accept Yankee dollars and Yankee institutions and still retain a measure of independence?”¹²⁵ Criticism of United States foreign policy was pervasive in anti-junta circles too. Andreas Papandreou was a chief spokesperson of this option.¹²⁶ Before his move to Toronto, Papandreou had taped in interview with the United States television show, *Face the Nation*, where he addressed aid to the dictatorship: “As long as the arms are used to subjugate the free people, to enslave the Greeks, obviously they should be withheld.”¹²⁷ The tone of Papandreou would grow increasingly radical as he spent more time in exile informed by growing mainstream concern with foreign policy aggression like the Vietnam War. As political analyst, Stan Draenos notes, “By the time of the junta’s abrupt collapse in July 1974, Papandreou had mutated from an unrepentant, but restrained critic of US policies into the militant leader of a nascent national liberation movement, with PAK advocating armed struggle to free Greece from the ‘bonds of American imperialism’.”¹²⁸ This rang true in Papandreou’s book *Democracy at Gunpoint* as well.¹²⁹

Resistance activities in Canada are most popularly associated with the Pan-Hellenic Liberation Movement (PAK) and Andreas Papandreou’s tenure at Toronto’s York University (1969 to 1974). On the night of the Greek coup, Papandreou was jailed allegedly for high

¹²⁵ Pierre Berton, *1967: The Last Good Year*. (Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1997), pg. 62.

¹²⁶ Stan Draenos, “Andreas Papandreou’s Exile Politics: The First Phase (1968-1970),” *The Historical Review/La Revue Historique, Section of Neohellenic Research/Institute of Historical Research* Volume XI (2014).

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, pg. 40

¹²⁸ *Ibid*

¹²⁹ Andreas Papandreou, *Democracy at Gunpoint: The Greek Front*. (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1970).

treason.¹³⁰ The dictatorship argued that the politician was planning a communist takeover of the Greek state. Following his release on 24 December 1967, he lived in exile and became one of the most important figures in the global anti-junta movement. In Canada, Papandreou's presence changed the dynamic of anti-dictatorship resistance. He became the focal point of the movement; lending legitimacy and professionalism to pro-democratic voices. His internationally recognized image as a champion of democracy and a former mandarin of the Greek state gave his voice access to Canadian elites. No grassroots activity could match this kind of influence.

Consequently, Papandreou occupied a lot of the anti-junta political space in Canada.¹³¹ Despite his enormous clout (still recognized in Greek political consciousness¹³²), Papandreou's influence in the lives of the majority of Greek immigrants who did not get involved in the anti-junta struggle, is ambiguous. In Canada, a large majority of Greek immigrants were unskilled workers caught in the immigrant struggle of long workdays and low pay. Additionally, community elites in the Greek Community of Toronto, the "official" organization representing Greek immigrants, remained apathetic or grew defiant to Papandreou's pro-democracy calls. Instead, the Greek Community of Toronto took an outward position of neutrality on Greek politics, choosing to focus on institutional development and issues related to integration into Canadian life. The battle that ensued between Papandreou and the Greek Community of Toronto is covered later in this

¹³⁰ Ibid

¹³¹ For this reason, this chapter emphasizes and focuses on Andreas Papandreou's political activity in Toronto and his unmatched ability to garner political attention and transnational focus on the anti-junta movement.

¹³² Papandreou is widely recognized for his political activity in Greece, but his activity in Toronto is, by and large, overlooked. See Κατερίνα Α. Βαρελά, *Ανδρέας Γ. Παπανδρέου Οι Αγώνες την Δημοκρατία 1967 – 1974*. (Αθήνα: Πνευματικό Ιδρυμα Γεωργίου Παπανδρέου, 2000); Νίκος Κλειτσίκας, *Π.Α.Κ.: Αγνωστα ντοκουμέντα του εθνικοαπελευθερωτικού αγώνα (1968 – 1974)*. (Αγγελος Σιδερατος); Stan Draenos, *Andreas Papandreou: The Making of a Greek Democrat and Political Maverick*. (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012).

chapter, but it is important to note that it was actually non-participation that defined the political life of most Greek immigrants.¹³³

While this chapter will cover PAK and Papandreou's activities in Canada, it is important to note that anti-dictatorship activities began in Toronto and Montreal well before his appointment in Toronto. In fact, before the formation of PAK in 1968, the response of Greek migrants to the junta had already taken shape in significant ways. In one of the earliest forms of mobilization against the junta, a rally was held on 30 April 1967 in response to the news that Greece's democratic institutions had been suppressed by an authoritarian military regime. Placards held by numerous individuals clearly conveyed the pro-democratic sympathies of the crowd. Slogans included "Death to the Junta", "Greece Deserves Justice", "Democracy or Death", "Release the Political Prisoners", and "Restore the Constitution". The crowd had convened in front of Toronto's City Hall, the emblem of municipal governance in the city, to broadcast the message that the military junta was engaged in a systematic assault on the democratic process in Greece. Evidently, these developments had created a new political symbol upon which sustained connection with Greece could be sustained.

Before PAK's presence in Toronto, the Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece (CRDG) was one of the most publicly active anti-dictatorship groups led by Greeks. The CRDG had been set up as a politically neutral front organization with members from various

¹³³ Again, I wish to reiterate a point made in the introduction and clearly established in the works of Efie Gavaki, Peter Chimbos, and Judith Nagata, that most Greek immigrants chose not to get involved any official associations, political or otherwise. If there is a defining narrative of Greek associational life, it is actually their non-participation.

Greek leftist organizations and parties that immigrants had brought with them from their homeland. Within the CRDG's ranks were members of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), EDA (the United Democratic Left), and Rigas Feraios (a student anti-junta organization). Formed shortly after the military junta's rise to power, the CRDG dominated the organizational campaign related to anti-dictatorship efforts in Toronto, particularly in light of King Constantine's visit to the city. On 13 August 1967, for example, the CRDG held a meeting at the King Edward Hotel where it was decided to establish a twenty-four hour picket that would follow King Constantine across Toronto.¹³⁴ The meeting consisted of about two-hundred attendees who contributed towards a \$250 pool that would be used to finance the placard campaign.¹³⁵ To ensure that the group's pro-democracy platform echoed to others in Toronto and beyond, plans were even made to rent boats and follow the king during the world championships for dragon class yachts, a regatta in which the king was planning to compete.

The CRDG engaged in other forms of political activism that was geared toward educating the Canadian public and disrupting Constantine's delegation. On 27 August 1967, 3,000 Greek Canadians converged on Constantine's hotel, the Park Plaza, to loudly demand democracy for Greece and to deliver a petition to the king.¹³⁶ Headed by the Committee for Restoration of Democracy in Greece, the crowd urged the king to denounce the military dictatorship. After being denied entry into the hotel and having been confronted by Metro police, many continued the march to the Greek consulate in order to present their resolution. The young woman leading the protest in Illustration 1 also made an appearance wearing the same garb. On this day

¹³⁴ "Toronto Greek group set to picket king during visit," *Toronto Star*, Monday, August 14, 1967.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*

¹³⁶ "Police fleet protects Greek king in CNE race," *Toronto Star*, Monday, August 28, 1967.

however, the procession was led by a float bearing three men in uniforms pretending to beat the young lady with their rifle butts.¹³⁷ Another float simulated the island of Youra, where Greece's dictatorship was holding thousands of political prisoners. According to the *Toronto Star*, the resolution circulated by the demonstrators, called upon King Constantine "to publicly denounce the military regime as 'unconstitutional and despicable,' free political prisoners, restore the citizenship of several exiles revoked by the regime and restrain from 'interference' in the political affairs of the country."¹³⁸

In addition to the above campaigns, which were largely centered on public spectacle, the CRDG presented itself as the unifying organization that spoke on behalf of all Greeks in Toronto. One main focus was to influence Canadian politicians. In a report to Paul Martin Sr., Minister of External Affairs, for example, the CRDG included a variety of articles from international media outlets that had reported on human rights abuses by the Greek junta. In a brief preamble, the CRDG presented itself as the voice of all Greeks, stating, "We are asking the Canadian Government not to recognize the military dictatorship in Greece. We speak not only for our organization which represents the vast majority of Canadians of Greek descent, but for all Canadians who value the democratic traditions of our country."¹³⁹ The CRDG's tactic was a calculated gesture to gain legitimacy and political clout, but its representativeness was arguable. The committee's membership, while not known in exact detail, was small relative to the Greek immigrant population in Toronto. In fact, in a letter addressed to Paul Martin, ten signatures

¹³⁷ "Greek rally protests King's backing of Junta," *Globe and Mail*, August 28, 1967.

¹³⁸ "Flotilla protects Greek king," *Toronto Star*, Monday, August 28, 1967.

¹³⁹ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 vol. 25, file 20-18-1-11, Non-Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, letter Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece to Paul Martin, "The Modern Greek Tragedy," December 21, 1967.

appeared in support of the committee's claims. These individuals were important to the anti-dictatorship movement in Toronto and, in some cases, would prove to be sustained and pervasive voices of protest. The list was composed of Nicholas Skoulas, who would become PAK's Executive Secretary and journalist in the anti-junta publication *New World*, Perry Economides (journalist in *New Times* and *New World*), Angelo Giannakopoulos (writer of op-ed pieces in Toronto's English newspapers), Peter Belegris (journalist in *New Times* and *New World*), H el ene Meynaud (a prominent anti-junta voice in Montreal), and five other individuals.¹⁴⁰

The CRDG argued that it was perfectly reasonable for the government that represented Canadians to insist that Greece follow an international code of ethics that had been affirmed by the United Nations. A letter sent by the CRDG to Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau argued for the release of political prisoners Grigoris Farakos, Giorgios Moraitis, Nikos Politis, and Lazaros Kiritsis;¹⁴¹ "We Canadians of Greek blood plead with you to express concern to the Greek government that these prisoners be treated according to the code of human rights."¹⁴² In another letter, addressed to Mitchell Sharp, the newly minted Minister of External Affairs, Perry Economides of the CRDG pressed for the Canadian government to stop all military aid to Greece.¹⁴³ Economides argued that the Greek junta had effectively ended constitutional

¹⁴⁰ The initial address for the Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece was 57 Bloor Street West, Suite 305, Toronto, Ontario.

¹⁴¹ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 vol. 10112, file 20-18-1-11, Non-Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece to Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, December 24, 1968.

¹⁴² Ibid

¹⁴³ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 vol. 10112, file 20-18-1-11, Non-Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, Perry Economides to Mitchell Sharp, July 15, 1968.

government and showed no signs that it would restore it.¹⁴⁴ He refuted the argument that Greece was part of NATO and deserved of some degree of leniency. Economides referenced the values to which he knew Canadians and the Canadian government subscribed: “The small group of colonels are using the military aid to oppress the freedom loving Greek people and they have seized power in Greece using a NATO plan and NATO tanks and they have ridiculed the very principles for which NATO stands.”¹⁴⁵ Mitchell Sharp’s response to the letter, diplomatic in its wording, stated that the Canadian government must consider a wide range of interests with respect to Greece, but assured Economides that, “Canada is not giving and has not for some years given any weapons, arms or ammunition to the Greek government.”¹⁴⁶

The CRDG’s solidarity efforts with Greece and the accompanying appeal to Canadian social and political values became particularly important following a student revolt at the Athens Polytechnic Institute. After a mass occupation of the Greek university’s campus on 14 November 1973, tanks were ordered to crush the uprising. The students’ rejection of the junta’s policies cost twenty-four civilian lives, but the events at the Polytechnic were a catalyst to a much larger process of delegitimizing the military regime. In Canada, the CRDG used the symbol of the violently repressed students and unjust use of state violence to criminalize and effectively undercut the international legitimacy of the Greek military government. The CRDG wrote to Mitchell Sharp, informing him of “a resolution adopted unanimously by the 300 people present

¹⁴⁴ Ibid

¹⁴⁵ Ibid

¹⁴⁶ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 vol. 10112, file 20-18-1-11, Non-Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, Mitchell Sharp to Perry Economides, August 23, 1968.

at Toronto City Hall rally”¹⁴⁷ on 17 November 1973. The resolution read: “We Canadians of Greek descent strongly protest the repression of the Greek people by the ruthless military regime in Athens and in major cities in Greece. We urge our government to make representations to the UN and the International Red Cross that all wounded be given proper medical attention and that support be offered in the just and desperate struggle of the Greek people to restore democratic rule in their homeland.”¹⁴⁸ In a similar display of support for the students, internationally acclaimed Greek composer Mikis Theodorakis performed at Toronto’s Massey Hall on 20 November 1973, which was followed by a march and wreath laying ceremony at the cenotaph in front of Old City Hall.¹⁴⁹ Here, the CRDG joined other anti-junta organizations like PAK to loudly denounce the use of violence on unarmed Greek students. The CRDG’s campaign to rally support for pro-democratic change in Greece led to other efforts to influence mainstream public opinion.

The CRDG’s membership included some of the most vocal anti-junta voices in Toronto’s Greek immigrant population. Of great importance however, was the ability of several of these individuals to convey messages of resistance in the English language. Writing to English media sources was an important strategy to not only keep Canadians concerned with Greece, but also to create widespread support for Canadian governmental pressure on the dictatorship. E.

Giannakopoulos, secretary of the CRDG, for example, used the editorial section of *The Globe*

¹⁴⁷ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 vol. 10112, file 20-18-1-11, Non-Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, Nicholas V. Skoulas, Panhellenic Liberation Movement Executive Secretary for Canada, to Mitchell Sharp, date unpublished.

¹⁴⁸ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 vol. 9364, file 20-18-1-11, Political Affairs – Non-Party Groups – Activity of Emigre Organizations – Greeks and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece (648 Yonge Street, Toronto, Ontario) to Mitchell Sharp, November 26, 1973.

¹⁴⁹ Tibor Kelley, “Post-Concert March,” *Globe and Mail* November 21, 1973.

and Mail to ask, among many other things, “just how popular a regime can be if its security depends on keeping thousands of people in prisons – politicians, professors, military men, poets, scientists and people of all political ideologies.”¹⁵⁰ According to Giannakopoulos, Greece was experiencing “the death of democracy.” Peter Belegris, a supporter of some CRDG initiatives and a journalist for a Greek language newspaper in Toronto (see Chapter Three), also used his pen in the English media to shed light on the situation in Greece. Change in Greece, he suggested, needed more grassroots mobilization and direct action. Talking about Greece was simply not enough. Belegris offered an op-ed in response to a *Globe and Mail* article about the dictatorship’s censorship of the media. His message addressed Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau’s Liberal campaign slogan, “Just Society,” which had raised hopes for social justice initiatives in Canada. He argued, “Perhaps the interest this article will create among Canadians is going to be an academic one. Perhaps our Government will continue sending military and other aid to the colonels and avoid taking a stand on what is happening in Greece today. For there is a price to pay for our Just Society, and someone has to pay it.”¹⁵¹ These calls in English media were part of a much louder chorus of activities to promote action against Greece.

In Montreal, similar resistance efforts occurred. Grassroots mobilization in the city’s Greek community as well as solidarity pleas within mainstream media were the main courses of action. The two dominant anti-dictatorship forces were Makrygiannis, a grassroots coalition of Montreal’s Greek leftist organizations, and the Greek-Canadian Committee for Freedom and Democracy in Greece, an anti-junta organization led by academics. The resistance efforts of

¹⁵⁰ E. Giannakopoulos, “Greece,” *Globe and Mail*, August 4, 1967.

¹⁵¹ Peter Belegris, “Greece,” *Globe and Mail*, August 23, 1968.

Makrygiannis included public events and the distribution of pamphlets and booklets. The overall goal was to educate Greeks and non-Greeks on how the junta and fascism had negative political and economic consequences for the rank and file. In order to bring attention to this objective, a rally marking the infamous first anniversary of the junta's reign was held on 24 April 1968.

Greece needed an organized resistance and it was the responsibility of those in the diaspora, who appreciated liberty, to act. Despite living outside of Greece, Greeks abroad had to stand by their compatriots with whom they shared a common cultural fate. The injustices of the dictatorship needed to be exposed and as Makrygiannis argued, both moral and material aid had to be collected for anti-junta efforts.

The literature circulated at the gathering used powerful metaphors and other contemporary events to educate the public about the hijacked fate of a once great people. In a two-part drawing, the organization depicted the impending Easter celebration of the resurrection of Jesus along with a woman holding a long knife.¹⁵² The illustration suggested that the Greek people were waiting for the appropriate time to oust the dictators and restore to Greece its most prized qualities. The article beneath the image went on to describe current conditions imposed upon the Greek people by "fascists". This illegitimate rule, it argued, had shackled the people. The new Greece had become a haven for American imperialism while the junta supported these efforts in order to create an American financial and military colony. It alleged that large American firms were given preferential treatment while smaller Greek businesses suffered. In Greece, the United States saw the opportunity for a new Puerto Rico or pre-revolutionary Cuba.

¹⁵² Library and Archives Canada, RG 146 A 2011 – 00137, Greek Subversive Activities, Stack 3, Department of the Secretary of State, Translation Bureau, Foreign Languages Division, May 6, 1968.

The ultimate goal, the article posited, was to turn Greece into a tourism hub while regular Greeks were relegated to menial jobs like dishwashers, servants, or waiters. Furthermore, the junta wished to limit education because the classic writers, musicians, and poets were dangerous Greeks, men who instilled a self-confidence and idea of self-determination in the average person.

Makrygiannis also championed economic sanctions as the most effective method for Greeks abroad to combat tyranny. All Greeks could participate in crippling the junta through collective isolation, particularly by withholding remittances and postponing visits. Hitting the junta in the pocketbook was one of the best ways to limit the regime's power. In a Makrygiannis leaflet, one writer argued that Greeks in the diaspora had to strive to isolate the dictatorship both psychologically and financially.¹⁵³ In addition to limiting remittances, enlightening public opinion and calling attention from the international community to injustices imposed upon the Greek people was the duty of the diaspora. Still, argued the author, the best way to hurt the junta was through boycotts that would detach the junta from one of its lifelines, create economic peril, and eventually act as a catalyst for Greek citizens to rise collectively and push for change. "We must stop our friends, Greeks and non-Greeks, from going to Greece now. We can tell them to go to Cyprus where they can freely enjoy the fine Greek sea and sky, without fear."¹⁵⁴ The underlying message was that the transmission funds to Greece was like an endorsement of fascist tyranny.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, pg. 8

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, pg. 7

Makrygiannis also engaged in clandestine activities. While the group's organization mainly centered on education and peaceful types of political activism, some plans crossed the lines of legality. The first plan was the design and building of radio transmitters, receivers, and delayed action fuses for explosives. The material was to be smuggled into Greece.¹⁵⁵ The members of Makrygiannis knowingly risked discipline from the Canadian state. This was particularly true for a second plan, which was to place an explosive device in the cable radio station owned by John Daperis.¹⁵⁶ In doing so, Makrygiannis wished to show that not everyone in Montreal's Greek speaking community was supportive of the authoritarian Greek government. Daperis was a prominent Greek language media personality who worked in the industry from the mid-1950s.¹⁵⁷ During the 1960s, his influence grew in the community through his radio program that operated in the Greek language for a few hours per week. As time passed, Daperis included a two hour Sunday liturgy from St. George's Greek Orthodox Church and a one hour broadcast for the Greek community of Montreal.¹⁵⁸ For Greeks in the anti-junta struggle, Daperis was a tacit supporter of the Greek consulate in Montreal and the dictatorship. In the plan to destroy the radio station, Makrygiannis wished to show that not everyone in Montreal's Greek speaking community was supportive of the authoritarian Greek government.¹⁵⁹ It is difficult to say how successful the first campaign was, but ultimately, the latter plan to destroy a media outlet sympathetic to the dictatorship never came to fruition.

¹⁵⁵ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 Vol. 9364, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Political Affairs – Non-Party Groups – Activity of Emigre Organizations – Greeks and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, “Anti-Greek Junta Activities, Montreal, Quebec,” April 3, 1970.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid

¹⁵⁷ “Interview with Mr. Daperis (CHCR Radio)”. From the personal archive of Efi Gavaki, Montreal. February 1981.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid

¹⁵⁹ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 Vol. 9364, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Political Affairs – Non-Party Groups – Activity of Emigre Organizations – Greeks and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, “Anti-Greek Junta Activities, Montreal, Quebec,” April 3, 1970.

The influence of broader international and public opinion was more effectively approached by the Greek-Canadian Committee for Freedom and Democracy in Greece, based in Montreal. The committee certainly had many Greeks within its ranks; however, its leadership was largely non-Greeks. For them, Greece's junta represented a decadence of the political system. Since the dictatorship's power did not derive from democratic means, it was simply illegitimate. The organizers were professors at various Quebec and Ontario institutions including McGill, Sir George Williams (Concordia), and the University of Toronto.¹⁶⁰ The committee's emblem was an obvious reference to the Greek flag that consisted of five blue and four white stripes; however, in place of the cross located in the upper left corner of the flag, the number 114 was inserted; a reference to an article of the Greek constitution suspended during the military occupation. The article was an important part of the country's 1952 constitution that entrusted its maintenance to the Greek people.

The committee had two important goals. First, "Restoration of the constitutional rights of the Greek People" and second, "Unconditional release of all citizens unconstitutionally arrested".¹⁶¹ These objectives were to be pursued "in the spirit of Greek tradition,"¹⁶² in hopes that, "in the long run, constant external pressure will affect some alleviation of the deplorable situation imposed by the military Junta." During a rally, a speaker echoed this sentiment, stating, "all over the world, groups like ourselves are strengthening their determination, are sacrificing their spirits to one aim, the end of the pitiful strangulation, which the Greek people are forced to

¹⁶⁰ Library and Archives Canada, RG 146, A 2011 – 00137, Greek Subversive Activities, Stack 2, "Canadian Committee for Democracy in Greece," August 15, 1967.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*

¹⁶² *Ibid*

suffer. To put an end to this Junta pollution of the clear glowing air of Greece, to end the Junta's attempt to pollute minds, to break physically by torture in concentration camps and in jails the brave ones, the *palikaria* [young men] of Greece."¹⁶³

On the first year anniversary of the military coup d'état, the CCDG spearheaded a public awareness campaign, which mainly consisted of the dissemination of information related to Greece and a protest march in Montreal on 21 April 1968.¹⁶⁴ The CCDG emphasized that support for Greece's return to democratic institutions was not a matter of ideology, but rather, a question of core citizenship values. "This Committee appeals to you for support", wrote a flyer, "No matter where you are located in the political spectrum, so long as you are a believer in Democracy help this Committee to banish tyranny from a land in which it is most alien."¹⁶⁵ The CCDG also used the image of Greece's glorious antiquity, a bastion of Western values, to compel fellow Canadians to organize and influence change. The situation in Greece, according to CCDG material, was a matter of collective values. As the CCDG wrote, "The Greek military junta have trampled down the ancient liberties of the Greek people. Greeks striving for human rights are tortured and imprisoned. Civilized world opinion has been aroused and shocked. You can help the Greek resistance, you can stand up and let yourself be counted as an active participant in the Democratic process by giving your support to the Canadian Committee."¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ *The 80 Goes to Sparta*, directed by Bill Davies (1969; Montreal, QB; National Film Board of Canada, DVD).

¹⁶⁴ This protest is covered in more detail in Chapter Four.

¹⁶⁵ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 vol. 9364, file 20-18-1-11, Political Affairs – Non-Party Groups – Activity of Emigre Organizations – Greeks and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, "Canadian Committee for Democracy in Greece, April 17, 1968.

¹⁶⁶ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 vol. 9364, file 20-18-1-11, Political Affairs – Non-Party Groups – Activity of Emigre Organizations – Greeks and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, "Le Comite Canadien Pour La Democratie En Grece," date unpublished.

In Greek, the message appealed to religion and Greek national identity. In a newsletter appearing under the title “*O Agonistis*” (The Fighter/Struggler), religion was used to invoke moral sentiment among Greek immigrants. Stressing the importance of Easter as a religious holiday to Greeks, the journal wrote,

These days we are celebrating the resurrection of Jesus, which means a resurrection of love and brotherhood among the peoples of the world. However, in our homeland, the Greece which is in chains by the Junta which is motivated by foreign powers, our parents and brothers and sisters will not live again this year the joy of the love of Jesus. Concentration camps and Hitler style caves where innocent persons are subjected to unacceptable tortures by various methods including force, terror, blackmail, misery, and other conditions which are incompatible with our civilization.¹⁶⁷

The article went on to liken every victim of the colonels with Jesus Christ who was raised on the cross to endure torture and suffering. This appeal to religion was undoubtedly an attempt by the committee to impress upon the Greeks of Montreal the urgency and importance of actively taking an anti-junta stance. Given that religion was an intimate part of Greek immigrants’ identities, the Canadian Committee for Freedom and Democracy in Greece cleverly infused their leftist critique of the junta with tones of religious and familial obligation.

In addition to religion, the committee used nationalistic sentiment to appeal to Greeks abroad. Here, the ancient glory of Greece was used to demonstrate the obvious incompatibility of authoritarianism and the Greek body politic. A past of artistic, scientific, and philosophical

¹⁶⁷ *The Fighter(Struggler)*, March 1968. Thank you to Panos Hatziprokopiou for finding and sharing this document from his father’s collection of historical materials. The leaflet appears in Greek as, «Ο ΑΓΩΝΙΣΤΗΣ,» Μοντρεαλ, Μαρτιος 1968.

innovation was juxtaposed to the reign of the dictatorship, which had ushered in dark clouds that rained down censorship and conformity. "*O Agonistis*" wrote,

The immortal Greek mind which has given most of the light in the world, is now found under severe persecution by the barbarian deniers of truth and love. The poets, the writers, the journalists, the artists, the professional people, our national heroes, disabled war veterans who defended our national honour and salvation, are inhumanly tortured, thrown into the position of bitter and slow death in the inhospitable bare islands and the caverns of the CIA and security forces.¹⁶⁸

Like Makrygiannis, the Greek-Canadian Committee for Freedom and Democracy in Greece also urged Greeks to consciously help in limiting the power of Greece's government. The committee's message ranged from subtle to extreme. Under the heading, "Here is What We Must, What We Can Do," in "*O Agonistis*," a series of suggestions were outlined to attract both the average Greek to participate in anti-dictatorial activity. The list read as follows:

1. We must not go to Greece while the Junta is in power there.
2. We must not send any money, not even one cent for investment in Greece while the Junta is still in power there.
3. We must not let our non-Greek friends go to Greece as tourists while the Junta is in power there.
4. We must enlighten the non-Greeks with reference to the drama of our people under the Hitler style regime of the Junta.
5. We must take an active part in the anti-dictatorial committees.
6. We must be united in a broad anti-dictatorial Front.
7. We must be ready to give even our own life in order that we may liberate our motherland from the Hitler style Junta.¹⁶⁹

The CCDG's public branding of the Greek government as an oppressive state regime did have some success. While it is difficult to determine the extent to which Canadians and Greek immigrants fully accepted the image constructed by the CCDG, the Greek consul in Montreal certainly felt compelled to respond. In reaction to the CCDG's sending out postal material with a

¹⁶⁸ Ibid

¹⁶⁹ Ibid

prominent stamp reading, “DANGER DICTATORSHIP – STAY AWAY FROM GREECE IN 1968!”), the Third Secretary of the Greek Embassy, G. Constantis, reached out to the Canadian Government’s European Division to halt the circulation of the stamps. Constantis felt that the message being circulated by Canada’s national postal service was not in line with Canadian government policy and also an unsubstantiated slur on the Greek state. The “*timbres malicieux*,”¹⁷⁰ as Constantis referred to them, were being circulated across the USA and Canada as propaganda that the consular official felt was in contravention to Canada’s neutral position on Greece’s military government.¹⁷¹ The matter came to an end following Canada Post’s promise not to deliver packages with the inflammatory message.

Through public protest, lobbying politicians, and grassroots activity organized around cultural spaces, the political struggle to end tyranny in Greece used Canadian urban centers to battle political foes in the Mediterranean nation. While the many efforts of organizations like the CRDG, CCDG, and Makrygiannis compelled politicians, everyday citizens, and media commentators to take note of the situation in Greece, no figure was able to do so more than the iconic Andreas Papandreou, a symbol to both the Greek and non-Greek populations in Toronto, Montreal, and elsewhere, of anti-dictatorial resistance. This appropriation of the anti-dictatorship voice was not by chance. In Canada, in particular, Papandreou used the Pan-Hellenic Liberation Movement (PAK, or, *Πανελλήνιο Απελευθερωτικό Κίνημα*) and his fame to craft a narrative that

¹⁷⁰ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25, Vol 10112, File 20-18-1-11, Non-Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, J. J. McCardue, for Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to The Commissioner, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Ottawa, May 24, 1968.

¹⁷¹ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25, Vol 10112, File 20-18-1-11, Non-Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, The Canadian Embassy, Athens, Greece to Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, Ottawa, “Anti-Greek propaganda and the Canadian Post Office,” May 24, 1968.

saw him as the leader of resistance to the Greek military state. After forming the organization in Sweden in 1968, Papandreou toured Europe and North America in order to rally opposition to the junta and to bring attention to the situation in Greece. As is widely known, while in exile, Papandreou served as an economics professor at Toronto's York University from 1969 to 1974. During his tenure, no other person, association, or entity would match his ability to mobilize, organize, and consolidate anti-dictatorship sentiment in Canada.

Andreas Papandreou's influence began to resonate in Canada well before he accepted his post at York University. On 7 April 1968, Papandreou visited Toronto to deliver a speech at Varsity Stadium. The sponsoring organization was the Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece which circulated material stating that, "Papandreou combines the crusading courage of Senator Eugene McCarthy, the youth and brilliance of Pierre Trudeau, the solid academic background of John Kenneth Galbraith, the understated strength of Lester Pearson."¹⁷² The event attracted an estimated 5,000 people¹⁷³, most of whom were Greek. The speech centered on the injustices occurring in Greece after the rise of the junta. In brazen fashion, Papandreou promised to lead an army back to Greece to overthrow the authoritarian regime.¹⁷⁴ Although his speech was not anti-Canadian, Papandreou noted that all countries supporting the junta were his enemies, and since the United States supported the junta, it was therefore an enemy of his people. The speech was also divisive for the Greek immigrant population in Canada, who Papandreou argued were divided into two polarized camps: those

¹⁷² "Greek Canadians cheer denunciation of Junta," *Globe and Mail*, April 8, 1968.

¹⁷³ *Ibid*

¹⁷⁴ Library and Archives Canada, RG 146 A 2011 – 00137, Stack 3, Greek Subversive Activities, W.L. Higgitt to E.T. Galpin, May 29, 1968.



Fig. 6 – Image of mother with small boy seated in Varsity Arena. Verso reads: “Mother and son are among the 4,000 who crowded Varsity Stadium last night to listen to Greek exile leader Andreas Papandreu.” Varsity Arena, Toronto, Ontario, 21 April 1969. Telegram staff photographer. Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, York University Libraries, Toronto Telegram Fonds, F0433, ASC08812.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ Note that this photograph is from a subsequent event in April 1969, once again held at Varsity Arena, Toronto, Ontario.

who supported and those who were opposed to PAK's anti-junta stance. On this issue, he contended, there was no middle ground. Following the speech, Donald C. MacDonald, leader of the New Democratic Party, expressed his approval of the message.¹⁷⁶ Additionally, Murray Tate, Vice-President of Toronto and District Labor Council, declared, "The fascist generals should be hanged after a fair trial."¹⁷⁷ The speech by Papandreou was the beginning of a much longer process whereby Toronto became a symbolic space for PAK activity.

Papandreou's embodiment of PAK and his position at an academic institution in Toronto, inevitably brought the city into a broader network of international nodes that included Berlin, New York, Rome, and other cities with large Greek migrant populations. In addition to the main goals of national liberation, popular sovereignty, democratic process, and the return of social justice to Greece, PAK touted other specific aims as well. Their mandate largely focused on the post-junta period, and specifically called for the following; (A) resistance forces would use the Constitutional Charter of Human Rights established by the United Nations until such time as a new parliament could establish a constitution; (B) All political prisoners would be freed and supporting members of the junta would be brought to justice; (C) The military and civil service arms of the Greek state would be neutralized, a constituent assembly elected, and a common party would be created to preside over free elections; (D) A new constitution would be voted on by the Constituent Assembly and a decision made on the fate of the monarchy within the Greek state; (E) PAK's submission to the constituent assembly of a constitutional plan would include the following points: (i) A constitutional charter to protect the rights of citizens, including

¹⁷⁶ "Greek Canadians cheer denunciation of Junta," *Globe and Mail*, April 8, 1968.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*

freedom of speech, opinion, organizing for the purposes of collective bargaining, the right to work in urban or rural Greece, just pay, and the right to free schooling and social insurance; (ii) Free elections; (iii) Freedom of religion and the separation of church and state; (iv) Judicial oversight of labour organization; (v) Decentralized state power in the interest of more local autonomy; (vi) Local administration of police; (vii) The development of a National Guard to protect the constitution where is under threat by force; (viii) Exclude any foreign embassy or service from the affairs of the Greek state; (ix) The abolishment of special laws related to the investment of foreign capital; (x) Transparency and the return of Greece from the army to the Greeks.¹⁷⁸

While various anti-dictatorship organizations in Canada organized around the return of democratic institutions to Greece, PAK was the only group that articulated detailed plans for the country in the post-dictatorship period. Additionally, Papandreou's experience in Greek politics and his public persona lent legitimacy to the PAK campaign. From Papandreou's speech at Varsity Stadium to his acceptance of a post at York University, the anti-dictatorship scene in Toronto began to coalesce around PAK, most notably with the recruitment of Nicholas Skoulas¹⁷⁹ of the CRDG who would become a chief figure of the PAK movement in Toronto. Skoulas spoke both English and Greek, which helped to earn him the position of PAK Executive Secretary for Canada. Before Papandreou joined the Economics Department at York University, Skoulas had begun PAK's campaign in Toronto.

¹⁷⁸ Library and Archives Canada, R 13880, Vol 6, Andreas Papandreou, Greek Military Junta – Articles, Editorials, *The Objective Aims of PAK*, date unpublished.

¹⁷⁹ Skoulas was an original member of the CRDG. Following Andreas Papandreou's post at York University, he became PAK's Executive Secretary and a chief figure in the dissemination of the organizations resistance activities. For more on contribution to the anti-junta movement in Toronto, see Chapter Three, where several of his articles from the Greek media are covered at length.

Papandreou gave PAK unmatched political clout with the Canadian state. His influence is seen in a letter written by Skoulas to the Canadian Minister of External Affairs, Mitchell Sharp. The communication appeared on official PAK letterhead including the phrase, “Panhellenic Liberation Movement – Worldwide-Under the chairmanship of Dr. Andreas Papandreou”.¹⁸⁰ The detailed letter outlined the oppressive state structure that had gripped power in Greece, muzzling its population and incarcerating and torturing political opponents. Skoulas referenced his homeland’s glorious past and argued that, “The very soul of Greece is threatened by the barbaric military dictatorship.”¹⁸¹ He also questioned the morality of offering Greece military aid while understanding how its state apparatus was treating its own citizens. Skoulas referred to the upcoming election on the constitution organized by the military regime as a “vote at gunpoint” in the absence of U.N. observers.¹⁸² He also made certain to conclude his letter by naming his organization’s political figurehead;

In the words of Andreas Papandreou: ‘The time is short. The bell is tolling. The Western World of which Greece is an integral part should take a clear stand. There should be no military and no economic aid to the tyrants of Greece, and there should be clear and unconditional condemnation of the barbaric regime which constitutes a smear on the international organizations which were set up in the wake of the last war as the bulwark of freedom and progress.’¹⁸³

¹⁸⁰ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25, Vol 10112, File 20-18-1-11, Non-Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, Nicholas V. Skoulas to Mitchell Sharp, July 27, 1968.

¹⁸¹ Ibid

¹⁸² Ibid; This was also a reference to Papandreou’s book, *Democracy at Gunpoint*.

¹⁸³ Ibid

The importance of the Papandreou name was demonstrated by Sharp's response. While other anti-dictatorship groups most often received generic messages or scarcely a reply, Sharp wrote Skoulas a very detailed response that addressed each point identified by the PAK representative. Specifically, the Minister clarified the position of the Canadian government on political prisoners, noting that his government had voiced its concerns to Greek authorities on many occasions.¹⁸⁴ Also, Sharp noted that with respect to military aid, Canada had only given Greece spare parts for training aircraft as approved by a NATO programme. Furthermore, the Canadian government did not wish to interfere with private transatlantic business transactions and therefore would continue to allow them. Finally, Sharp addressed Skoulas's argument that Canada ought to join other western countries in isolating Greece through sanctions. The Minister argued that since 1964, Canada had been involved in a peacekeeping mission in Cyprus, which called for amicable relations between all interested parties. Moreover, by maintaining relations with Greece, Canada was able to "exercise some positive influence".¹⁸⁵ While this initial response to Skoulas made it seem as though the Canadian government was dragging its heels on decisions related to the Greek state, two years later, on 22 May 1970, Sharp would table in the House of Commons a report of the Human Rights Commission of the Council of Europe, which detailed the torture of political prisoners by the dictatorship.¹⁸⁶

The above example was one of the earliest of many instances that demonstrated how Papandreou and PAK were able to draw attention to the anti-dictatorship movement. It also

¹⁸⁴ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25, Vol 10112, File 20-18-1-11, Non-Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, Mitchell Sharp to Nicholas Skoulas, August 26, 1968.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid, pg. 2

¹⁸⁶ Library and Archives Canada, MG 28, Vol 392, File I103, Pan Hellenic Liberation Movement, Nicholas Skoulas to unknown recipient, March 6, 1971.

showed how it could elicit responses from high offices in the Canadian government. With Toronto as its base, PAK became the main beacon of light in the active and organized movements for political change in Greece. With the former Greek cabinet minister at the helm, PAK became the most organized, professional, and influential of all the anti-dictatorship organizations in Canada. Given his prominent status, Papandreou was able to appropriate existing anti-junta sentiment in Canada to the benefit of his party.

In English speaking Canadian society, Andreas Papandreou was a masterful organizer. Unmatched in this talent, Papandreou's name lent credibility to the rallies, speeches, letters, meetings, television appearances, and other activities. His words and image brought Greek political space to Canada in unprecedented ways. In short, Papandreou was a magnet, which translated into Canadian awareness about Greece. In 1970, for example, Greek Freedom Week at York University¹⁸⁷ run by the campus group Students for a Free Greece with the support of PAK, drew between 3,000 and 5,000 students, faculty, and members of the public to the weeklong event. The keynote speech, given by Papandreou on 16 November 1970, attracted approximately 300 people.¹⁸⁸ In the address, Papandreou argued that foreign influences, particularly the United States, were thwarting efforts of Greeks abroad to influence the junta in any way. The *Toronto Star* captured Papandreou's sentiment, writing, "'Greeks in Greece' will have to restore democracy to the country because American pressure has foiled attempts through international channels." As he had done in his 1968 Varsity Stadium speech, Papandreou also argued that it

¹⁸⁷ Also see Chapter Two.

¹⁸⁸ "Junta may last 'years' Papandreou tells Greeks" *Toronto Daily Star*, November 17, 1970.

was US financing and providing tactical support that had helped the colonels of the Greek military regime seize power.

The critique of American imperialism was often a focal point for Papandreou in his anti-dictatorship activities. As he often suggested openly and publicly, the military dictatorship in Greece could not exist without the support of the United States. On this point, Papandreou did not mince words. In a public speech in 1969, Papandreou argued that, “America’s military establishment – created for defense – could become a Frankenstein’s monster”.¹⁸⁹ The dangers of excessive military force and public spending on military technology had the potential to become a substantial problem for all NATO countries, he argued. With growing military resources combined with communist paranoia, states were able to use unprecedented means to apply censorship, marshal law, and suspend civil rights.¹⁹⁰ While others in Canada offered similar critiques, Papandreou’s name and profile had given him a symbolic platform from which he could launch his anti-dictatorial salvos. One of his biggest opportunities came with his testimony before the European Commission of Human Rights in France. On this enormous stage, Papandreou argued that the United States’ influence in Greece was akin to Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia.¹⁹¹ Similarly, Papandreou noted, that Greece was experiencing a level of systemic oppression only paralleled “under the Nazi occupation”.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25, Vol 9363, File 20-18-1-11, Political Affairs - Non-Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, Panhellenic Liberation Movement (P.A.K.), “Ex-Greek Leader Points to Dangers in T U Talk,” April 10, 1969.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid

¹⁹¹ Library and Archives Canada, R 13880, Vol 6, Andreas Papandreou, Greek Military Junta – Articles, Editorials, Newspaper Clipping, “Papandreou accuses U.S. of aiding Greek ‘fascism’,” unknown publication and date.

¹⁹² Ibid

The idea of ending American imperialism in Greece was also a theme that Papandreou and PAK used cleverly in attention grabbing public spectacle campaigns. On 9 July 1972, for example, supporters of PAK staged a hunger strike in front of Toronto's American consulate. The event was organized in support of Athena Panagoulis, the mother of Alexandros Panagoulis, a poet and anti-junta activist who had grown famous because of his attempt to assassinate Colonel Georgios Papadopoulos on 13 August 1968. Panagoulis' imprisonment was widely known for the barbarous torture that he was subjected to. In an effort to have him released, Panagoulis' mother staged a hunger strike in front of the American consulate in Athens. In Toronto, Margaret Papandreou¹⁹³, the wife of Andreas, joined the campaign, sitting with protestors for hours in the hopes of shedding light on the issue of political torture in Greece.¹⁹⁴ Another hunger strike was staged in the same location on 25 March 1973, but this time in solidarity with Greek university students.¹⁹⁵ The hunger strike was also a follow-up to a promise made at a solidarity event on 4 March 1973.

The organizers of the event were Friends of PAK and the smaller anti-dictatorship coalition organization, Rigas Feraios, a student anti-dictatorship organization sympathetic to the KKE and named after a hero in the Greek War of Independence. Taking place in front of Toronto's City Hall, the event attracted thousands of Greeks and non-Greeks to hear Papandreou speak. In his speech, the York professor expressed support for students in Athens who had begun to agitate against the Greek state. Papandreou referred to the Greek state as the "American

¹⁹³ Margaret Papandreou was also a vocal critique of the Greek junta. Her commitment to the resistance compelled her to right a strong critique of the United States and Greece. See Margaret Papandreou, *Nightmare in Athens*. (Englewoods Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970).

¹⁹⁴ "Greek Arms in Greece," *PAK News*, September 1973. pg 6.

¹⁹⁵ "Support," *PAK News*, April 1973, pg. 12.

dictatorship”.¹⁹⁶ This point was expanded upon by Gabriel Kolko, the famous York University Marxist historian who told the crowd that Greece was an important geo-political entity for American interests because of the country’s proximity to oil in the Middle East. The larger interest of the United States, he argued, was containing the Soviet Union and communism. Kolko also postulated that other Southern European countries would not allow American military bases to be built, which led the United States to push for the overthrow of the democratically elected government in Greece. Through these clandestine means, America came to possess its bases in Greece. Despite Kolko’s appearance, Papandreou’s ability to organize such a well-attended event is evidence of the symbolic power that he held in Toronto.

To the broader world, Papandreou selectively used the official moniker of PAK, often choosing to position his resistance efforts as a representation of most Greeks within and outside of Greece’s borders. In a Toronto press release, for example, Papandreou distributed excerpts from a letter that he had sent to the Foreign Ministers of the states represented in the European Council. It read “We, the Greek democrats at home and abroad, have appreciated your disapproval, in principle, of the Greek regime,”¹⁹⁷ but warned:

The Greek resistance forces, with the full backing of the Greek people, will consider a Council decision not to expel Greece, as a signal for a new, long and tough phase in the struggle for freedom and democracy in Greece. Body and soul, they will devote themselves to the confrontation with the usurpers of power, and no matter what the cost, they will intensify and extend the liberation struggle until

¹⁹⁶ “Toronto,” *PAK News*, March 1973, pg. 16.

¹⁹⁷ Library and Archives Canada, MG 28, Vol 392, File 1103, Pan Hellenic Liberation Movement, “Press Release,” *Panhellenic Liberation Movement*, November 29, 1969.

victory comes, until the people in Greece are sovereign, the Greek Army belongs to our nation, and Greece to the Greeks.¹⁹⁸

In addition to efforts that successfully garnered the attention of international actors and the Canadian government, Papandreou was also an effective organizer of other forms of grassroots anti-junta sentiment within Toronto. One of the most important alliances Papandreou made was with organized labour. Early on, Papandreou formed solidarity coalitions with unions in Canada across Southern Ontario. In addition to receiving endorsement from steel workers in Hamilton, PAK was supported by the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) which regarded the organization as “a legitimate expression of the anti-dictatorship forces among Greeks” in Canada.¹⁹⁹ The CLC’s official line had been decided by an Executive Council vote around the same time of Papandreou’s appointment. The alliance between PAK and organized labour in Ontario was an important conduit through which matters in Greece were communicated to the everyday Canadian citizen. On one occasion, members of a steel workers union held a placard related to Greece during a march. The message read, “Greece’s Labour Leaders are not Bargaining, They are Rotting in Prisons”.²⁰⁰ Additionally, other union rallies partnered with Papandreou in order to bring more attention to their grievances. Local 560 of the Canadian Textile and Chemical Union (CTCU), for example, focused on labour rights for women and immigrant workers.²⁰¹ Papandreou joined the picket line in their strike against Puretex Knitting Company in Toronto.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹⁹ Library and Archives Canada, MG 28, Vol 392, File I103, Pan Hellenic Liberation Movement, William Dodge to Donald E. Bott, September 10, 1969.

²⁰⁰ Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, York University Libraries. Michael Vitopoulos Photo Collection.

²⁰¹ “The History of CAW Local 40,” <http://www.cawlocal.ca/40/history.asp>, accessed February 15, 2016.

²⁰² Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, York University Libraries. Michael Vitopoulos Photo Collection.

Despite his prominence in PAK, Papandreou needed financial resources. One way to do this was by organizing galas, which were explicitly political and offered an opportunity to mingle with likeminded people.²⁰³ PAK also circulated donation cards at the gala. While it is difficult to discern just how generous attendees were with their money, it is clear that Papandreou was successful in appealing to donors.

The best example of Papandreou's ability to organize and effectively entice donations was the Greek Cultural and Educational Fund (GCEF); chaired by Papandreou and registered as an official charity with the Department of National Revenue.²⁰⁴ The central aim of the fund was to help Greek refugees in Canada. Leaflets stated, "These refugees are frightened, often ill from torture and mistreatment in prisons. They need to find homes and jobs and independence."²⁰⁵ In one of its inaugural campaigns, the fund's organizers, Elizabeth Smith, executive director, and Nicholas Skoulas, secretary, targeted non-Canadians. Initially, blank leaflets were mailed out to many non-Greek Canadians. A few days later, a letter soliciting funds under the banner of the GCEF was sent. The leaflet read, "A few days ago you received a letter filled with blank pieces of paper. You may have found it annoying, puzzling, or even humorous, but, it did not hurt you. Many such letters are received by Greek Canadians." The lines were an insinuation that political refugees in Canada received similar letters from their loved ones in Greece, which had been opened and replaced with blank pieces of paper by the Greek government. As the leaflet noted, "Some Greek Canadians have not heard from their families in years," and asked Canadians,

²⁰³ Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections, York University Libraries. George Papadatos Collection, (Greek Canadian History Project).

²⁰⁴ The charity was officially registered on 4 August 1970.

²⁰⁵ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25, Vol 9364, File File: 20 – 18 – 1 -11, Elizabeth Smith and Nicholas Skoulas, "Greek Cultural and Educational Fund," date unpublished.

“Won’t you help? When was the last time you heard from your family?” The GCEF also noted that the Canadian government officially recognized the fund as a charitable organization.

The GCEF raised \$11,000, but simultaneously attracted criticism from many sources including the Canadian government, the Greek embassy in Ottawa, and the organized Greek Community of Toronto.²⁰⁶ The broader question regarding the GCEF was the degree to which it was using funds for political ends versus its stated goal of helping Greek refugees in Canada. In a heated letter to Canada’s Secretary of State for External Affairs, A. N. Pilavachi, Royal Greek Ambassador in Ottawa, refuted the claims that were being circulated on the GCEF leaflet. Pilavachi argued that no mail censorship existed in Greece and that Greeks in Canada were free to visit their families in their homeland. More importantly however, the Greek ambassador expressed his deep displeasure with the connection that the GCEF claimed to have with the Canadian government: “It is astonishing that an organization using such questionable methods for collecting funds, for obvious political propaganda against a country with which Canada maintains normal relations, should claim official recognition by the Canadian Government as a charitable organization and enjoy tax exempt status.”²⁰⁷ Finally, the ambassador asked that the Canadian government, through the Department of Justice, investigate the GCEF. Evidently, open confrontation in the political battle between Papandreou and the Greek state was not contained to Greece’s boundaries.

²⁰⁶ Peter Worthington, “‘Charity’ financing revolution – Greeks,” *Toronto Telegram*, November 20, 1970.

²⁰⁷ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25, Vol 9363, File 20-18-1-11, Political Affairs - Non-Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, Royal Greek Embassy, Ottawa to Mitchell Sharp, November 18, 1970.

Following Pilavachi's accusation, the Canadian state examined whether the GCEF had broken any laws. The matter was passed around various individuals within Canada's Department for External Affairs. Canada's European Division noted,

The [Greek] Ambassador's annoyance is easy to understand in view of the organization's claim of "official recognition" and statement that contributions are deductible for tax purposes. He doubtless considers (perhaps correctly) that the Fund has been created as a money making agency for Papandreou's various activities including the 'Pan-Hellenic Liberation Front'.²⁰⁸

As the evidence shows, Pilavachi's lobby was successful. In response to the information from the Greek ambassador, Sharp's office reacted unfavourably to the GCEF. As Sharp's Under-Secretary, A.E. Ritchie argued in a letter to the Deputy Minister of National Revenue, "You will appreciate that the statement by the organization that it is 'officially recognized by the Canadian Government' causes us some embarrassment in view of the fact that its chairman, Andreas Papandreou is well known for his political activity in Canada against the Greek Government."²⁰⁹ Ritchie added that, "Mr. Papandreou is on record as having called for the violent overthrow of the present Greek Government. From private sources, we understand that he has been collecting money for this purpose." Ritchie also argued, "We have no evidence to prove that funds collected by the 'Greek Cultural and Educational Fund' will be used for this purpose as well, but there is every reason to believe that the 'orientation programmes and adult education' for Greek immigrants undertaken by the Fund would be highly political in nature."

²⁰⁸ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25, Vol 9363, File 20-18-1-11, Political Affairs - Non-Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, PDM to GEU, "Andreas Papandreou and the 'Greek Cultural and Educational Fund'," November 23, 1970.

²⁰⁹ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25, Vol 9363, File 20-18-1-11, Political Affairs - Non-Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, A. E. Ritchie, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs to Deputy Minister, Department of National Revenue, "'Greek Cultural and Educational Fund'," November 25, 1970.

In a damning *Toronto Telegram* article titled, “‘Charity’ financing revolution – Greeks”, conservative journalist Peter Worthington highlighted the deep political divisions within Toronto’s Greek community. The reaction of many leaders within institutions like the Greek Community of Toronto demonstrated that the perception of Greece’s dictatorship was far from monolithic within Canada’s Greek immigrant population. As Worthington’s article suggested, “Prominent members of the Greek community say that contributions Canadians are making to a supposedly charitable organization are really going to help finance revolution in Greece.”²¹⁰ Paul Kanas, president of the Greek Community of Toronto, was quoted as never having heard of the GCEF and argued that its goals were misleading: “Greek immigrants to Canada who need jobs and help almost invariably go to our church, the community or to the Canadian Government”.²¹¹ The Greek Orthodox Church, sharing a close link with the organized community in Toronto, echoed Kanas’ perspective. Father Roumanas of St. Dimitris Church²¹², for example, told *The Telegram* that newly arrived Greeks were cared for at an annual cost of approximately \$55,000 per year: “I don’t know who is using this money collected – but I know it isn’t going to ‘refugees’...What ‘refugees’ are there coming from Greece? Only immigrants. And they are being looked after.”²¹³ J. J. Richards, Publicity Chairman for the pro-junta organization, Greek Canadian National Brotherhood, who was also a Progressive Conservative candidate for Riverdale riding was most vehement: “It’s an excuse to get money to buy guns and to sponsor bloodshed in Greece – as the principals have declared publicly.”²¹⁴ The skirmish between Papandreou and the Greek Community of Toronto, the Greek Orthodox Church, and the

²¹⁰ Peter Worthington, “‘Charity’ financing revolution – Greeks,” *Toronto Telegram*, November 20, 1970.

²¹¹ *Ibid*

²¹² It should be noted that St. Demetrios Church and the Greek Community of Toronto Headquarters operated on the same premises, located at 30 Thorncliffe Park Drive, Toronto, ON.

²¹³ Peter Worthington, “‘Charity’ financing revolution – Greeks,” *Toronto Telegram*, November 20, 1970.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*

affiliates of these two powerful entities was not contained to the GCEF. The battle to control the narrative around Greece had already manifested itself on many other occasions.

Despite Papandreou's now mythologized and legendary status, he was very much a polarizing force. That Papandreou was popular with students, academics, politicians, and other prominent social actors, did not translate into mass popularity in Canada's Greek immigrant population. This was particularly true within the organized elements of Greek Canadian life. In Toronto, the close ties between the Greek Orthodox Church and the Greek Community of Toronto ensured that Papandreou would be a pariah to many. As Theodore Saloutos comments in his foundational text *Greeks in America*, the Orthodox Church became an indispensable part of organized Greek immigrant life even to those who may not have been that religious in their home country.²¹⁵ The alliance between the Church and the junta then, meant that anti-state feelings were suppressed. In addition, community politics in the late-1960s had ostensibly begun focusing on issues facing Greeks in Canada. Irrespective of this mindset, the political tensions of Greece endured.

The Greek Community of Toronto council elections of 1969 reflected the parallel narratives of Greece's contemporary political situation alongside the more immediate issues to immigrants, such as jobs and integration. The election had a symbolic importance that far outweighed any of the candidates. Claiming to represent 50,000 Greeks in Toronto, the council was seen by many outside of Canada's Greek population to be the voice of the immigrant

²¹⁵ Theodore Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964).

community. Though the claim of the Greek Community of Toronto that it represented all Greeks in the city was highly dubious, given that 638 votes were cast for 78 candidates,²¹⁶ the ideological battle was important because it pitted the Papandreou faction against other local ethnic leaders who either wished to distance themselves from politics in Greece, or, who supported the military regime in their homeland. The election results spoke to the importance of local ethnic leaders. *The Globe and Mail* reported, “All but one of the 25 new council members are moderates or supporters of the present Greek military Government. The single elected opponent to the regime is Ted Manetas, who was supported by the *New World*²¹⁷ community newspaper and the Panhellenic Liberation Movement (PAK).”²¹⁸ *The Telegram*, a conservative daily, noted that “left-wing supporters of Andreas Papandreou were soundly defeated in elections to the Council of the Metro Greek Community yesterday.”²¹⁹ The defeat was a statement of the influence that local Greek leaders had over community politics. Finally, the words of the Greek Community of Toronto President, Paul Kanas, were a refraction of the broader international and Canadian context that informed the life of the Greek immigrant, “Most Greeks here try to be good Canadians and don’t need these rowdies who pretend to be working for justice or some cause or other.”²²⁰

Despite the resistance to Papandreou by Toronto’s organized Greek community, the PAK movement still managed to radiate from its Canadian base to Greeks in other diasporic nodes. As the years of military dictatorship dragged on, PAK used Toronto as its headquarters to

²¹⁶ *The Globe and Mail* reported that this was twice the usual amount of voters, see “Greek politics are out for new local council,” *Globe and Mail*, June 17, 1969.

²¹⁷ For more on *New World*, a weekly anti-junta publication, see Chapter Three.

²¹⁸ “Greek politics are out for new local council,” *Globe and Mail*, June 17, 1969.

²¹⁹ Peter Worthington, “Papandreou supporters defeated in Metro vote,” *Toronto Telegram*, June 16, 1969.

²²⁰ *Ibid*

disseminate news across North American cities in order to keep the flame of resistance burning. One important way that this was done was through *PAK News*. The monthly newsletter began circulating in Greek and English in February 1972.²²¹ Its goal was to provide news, analysis, political commentary, an overview of events, and most importantly, clarifications on political positions that distinguished PAK from other political parties. As the first edition newsletter outlined, all members of PAK and Friends of PAK were entitled to a free copy of the publication, but sympathizers outside of this network were asked to send \$3.00 to the organization's Toronto office in order to cover the expenses of printing and postage.

The newsletter represented more than mere information. In essence, *PAK News* displayed two important nuances of the anti-dictatorship movement in Canada, and probably the world. First, to a greater degree than anytime preceding the publication, *PAK News* brought Toronto into the centre of anti-dictatorship activity in North America. While the importance of Toronto prior to February 1972 should not be overlooked, the monthly newsletter was a tangible sign of Toronto's presence in a global movement. While resistance activities in Toronto and Montreal were by their very nature transnational, their activities targeted political change in Greece through local collective activism and attempts to influence political decisions in Ottawa. *PAK News* however, brought Toronto's activities to the world and the world's activities to Toronto. While other publications may have attempted to do this, Papandreou's position as figurehead of PAK ensured a much wider resonance of his organization's activities. Various actors reported on

²²¹ Clara Thomas Archives and Special Collections, York University Libraries, George Papadatos Collection (Greek Canadian History Project), Andreas Papandreou, "PAK Documents, 1972-1974," in *PAK News*, February 1, 1972. (Αιχμή – Athens, 1977), pg. 13. Note: I was unable to find the English newsletters and worked exclusively with the Greek circulations.

the resistance activities happening elsewhere, but an immense difference between PAK and others was that Papandreou himself was transnational, literally and symbolically shaping resistance movements in North America and Europe.

In the May 1972 publication, *PAK News* reported on an event attracting approximately 500 Greeks and Americans to the Manhattan Center. The speakers list was impressive, including Papandreou, Greek cinematic star Melina Mercouri, Democratic Senator Eugene McCarthy, and activist Daniel Ellsberg. Eleni Kazantzakis, the widow of the prolific author Nikos Kazantzakis, delivered a passionate message of support for PAK's activities. Additionally, the front page of *PAK News*' November 1972 issue showed Papandreou shaking hands with two Vietnamese nationals at a conference in Stockholm centered on the liberation of Vietnam, Latin America, North Africa, and Greece. In *PAK News* of May 1973, Papandreou's European visit and activities in Venice, Italy were highlighted. The article chronicled a speech by Papandreou, where he invigorated young students declaring that the fight for liberty, democracy, and a socialistic Greece was still going strong, despite the influence of American imperialism in his homeland.²²² The next issue of *PAK News*, featured Papandreou's keynote address in Philadelphia to members of SANE, a peace organization that began in the late-1950s in support of demilitarization. His speech, titled, "Greece: The Anatomy of a Classical Case of American Intervention," hit the right notes with the anti-war and anti-imperialist crowd.²²³

²²² "PAK," *PAK News*, May 1973, pg. 8.

²²³ "PAK," *PAK News*, June 1973, pg. 11.

The PAK newsletter also reported on the widespread support received in Australia from Greeks and native Australians. In Sydney, large crowds were reported to have gathered at City Hall where Papandreou expressed solidarity with the Labor Party and the Greek anti-junta organizations of Australia.²²⁴ Loud cheering and chants of “Whitlam” (Australia’s Prime Minister and Labour Party Leader) resonated throughout the event. Local labour leaders such as Neville Wran lent support to the event speaking about the future of labour in politics in Australia and Greece. In Melbourne, Bill Hartley, a government representative announced the Labour Party’s support for Greece’s liberation movement. *PAK News* reported that thousands of Greeks were overcome with tears and emotion, loudly cheering “We will remember you on May 18,” which was Australia’s next federal election. Additionally, while in Canberra, the Australian capital, the country’s Prime Minister took some time to meet privately with Papandreou. While many of the Scandinavian countries had taken a position against Greece’s dictatorship, *PAK News* argued that the support for Papandreou and Australia’s position at the forefront of opposition to the Greek state, was a clear indication of Labour’s positive influence for working people.

PAK and its leader also pushed for the promotion and advancement of issues related to women in the resistance movement. In the May 1973 issue, PAK lent its support to a demonstration in Toronto against female incarceration and torture in Greece. The silent march through Toronto’s downtown saw ten or so women in striped coats bringing attention to the “drama” of Greece’s political prisoners.²²⁵ The women chained themselves to one another and

²²⁴ “In What Ways is Papandreou Helping Workers,” *PAK News*, April/May 1974, pg. 5.

²²⁵ *PAK News*, May 1973, pg. 1.

walked in single file, mimicking a prison yard. Additionally, each of the demonstrators held a placard with the name of a female political prisoner in Greece along with the length of sentence she was serving.²²⁶ The demonstration stopped in front of City Hall in Nathan Philips Square where the women gave a presentation. Before a gathering of hundreds of people, the names of other female political prisoners were read aloud along with the length of their sentences and the torture to which they had been subjected. The demonstration concluded with a march to the American consulate where the women and their supporters remained until dusk.²²⁷

There were a few other occasions when *PAK News* published articles specifically related to women, showing solidarity with them in the anti-dictatorship movement outside of Greece, but also working towards gender equity within Greece. In the August 1973 issue, for example, a short piece of appreciation for women in the resistance movement in New York was followed by an essay by a former female teacher in Greece.²²⁸ Titled “Oppression in Greece: The View of Women,” the piece argued that women suffered under men’s tyranny just as much as men were currently suffering under the junta’s tyranny.²²⁹ The points echoed the message of second wave feminism, whose foundations had been built by women like Betty Friedan, Kate Millett, and Germaine Greer, challenging traditional beliefs of femininity.²³⁰ All one needed to do was to look at how Greece’s societal conventions had constructed inequitable conditions for women. A daughter was an economic burden to the Greek family for several reasons. First, she could not make nearly the same wage as a son would provide by joining the workforce. Second, the dowry

²²⁶ “Linked for a Cause”, *Globe and Mail*, April 20, 1973, pg. 9.

²²⁷ *PAK News*, May 1973, pg. 2.

²²⁸ “Oppression in Greece: The Perspective of Women,” *PAK News*, August 1973, pg. 9.

²²⁹ *Ibid*

²³⁰ See Betty Friedan, *The feminine mystique*. (New York: Norton, 1963); Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics*. (Garden City, NY: Double Day & Company, Inc., 1970); Germaine Greer, *The female eunuch*. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971).

system was a very serious problem that called for great sacrifice in order to marry off a daughter. Beyond this, the social construction of femininity hindered the advancement of most women. The essay noted that female students in Greece lacked creativity and initiative because they focused on looking beautiful and being properly passive.²³¹ The September 1973 issue of *PAK News* provided statistics related to the under-enrolment of women in Greek universities, lower wages when compared to men, and occupational boundaries based on gender.²³² Whatever their class or walk of life, women are merely prepared by their mothers for their wedding day and to be proper wives, it argued. A revolution to combat this social problem was necessary, but, as the essay maintained, a democratic revolution needed to happen first. Without this political change, the advancement of women was not possible. In contemporary Greece, it concluded, no one is free.²³³

Conclusion

The use of a broad range of social, economic, and political issues to mobilize Greeks and non-Greeks abroad ultimately created transnational spaces of resistance in Canadian cities. Leaders in resistance organizations like the CRDG, CCFDG, Makrygiannis, and PAK, sought to bring Greek politics to Canada in hopes of forcing democratic change in their homeland. The indirect consequence of a de-territorialization of the Greek state in this process had important consequences. It created an important symbol for politically motivated activities within the Greek communities in Toronto and Montreal to galvanize around. Inevitably, organizations like those mentioned above moved quickly to shape the narrative of resistance that would be disseminated to Greeks abroad and to non-Greek Canadians. Canada provided an opportunity for

²³¹ "Oppression in Greece: The Perspective of Women," *PAK News*, August 1973, pg. 10.

²³² "Oppression in Greece: The Perspective of Women," *PAK News*, September 1973, pg. 15.

²³³ "Oppression in Greece: The Perspective of Women," *PAK News*, October 1973, pg. 8.

political dissenters/dissidents to speak against Greece's military dictatorship with a decreased fear of repercussion from the Greek state.

Additionally, the various campaigns to call attention to the Greek government, to isolate it politically, and to cripple it economically serves as an example of how the life of some immigrants in Canada transcend the dominant historical paradigm; both in mainstream and academic thinking. The political discourse of anti-dictatorship groups is a departure from our understanding of the experience of the typical Greek immigrant. In Greece, the country's mythologized historical narrative gives scant attention to immigrants. In Canada, where the symbols of multiculturalism and opportunity are a fundamental part of the country's identity, Greek immigrants are hardly known for their political activity related to Greece.

The most prominent figure to fight the dictatorship from abroad was Andreas Papandreou who founded PAK, The Pan-Hellenic Liberation Movement. After taking an academic post at York University, Toronto was brought into the centre of a global anti-dictatorship resistance movement. PAK toured European and North American capitals calling attention to human rights abuses in Greece. The iconic figure who would go on to become Greece's prime minister in 1981 also used PAK to position himself as a champion of democratic and socially progressive values. As Papandreou enthusiastically noted upon his return to Toronto as Greece's Prime Minister (1983), "Toronto has been written in the history of modern Greece."²³⁴ But, as this chapter has shown, the celebration of Toronto as a bastion of anti-junta spirit is highly questionable. While

²³⁴ Lorne Slotnick, "Thousands cheer Greek PM," *Globe and Mail*, Thursday, March 31, 1983.

Papandreou was certainly a leading figure in resistance activities, his support from other Greek community institutions was non-existent. In fact, the Greek Community of Toronto, the leading “non-political”²³⁵ community organization was ostensibly distrustful and outright opposed to Papandreou’s efforts. While the professor’s activities and influence in many public protests, working class awareness of issues in Greece, and attempts to profess progressive values related to gender were meaningful, their resonance in Toronto’s Greek immigrant life was negligible.

Overall, anti-dictatorship activities in Toronto and Montreal, with the exception of Papandreou, did not evince immense political change in Greece. Additionally, anti-state sentiments compelled a very small minority of Greeks in Toronto and Montreal to engage in political action. With this in mind, one might be quick to conclude that most Greeks in Canada either supported the junta or did not care. Both of these conclusions are inaccurate. While some individuals did mobilize, most Greeks in Canada found themselves in the struggle of everyday life. Family in Greece was certainly a concern, but when it came to politics in Canada, most Greeks were, as the author has heard many times, “too busy working.” Still, the space carved out by Greeks who wished to see political change in their homeland was an important lesson of how crisis abroad inspires a counter-narrative to that which is accepted and celebrated in the North American immigrant story.

²³⁵ The use of quotation marks is to illustrate a double-meaning. While the Greek Community of Toronto is an ostensibly neutral organization, their wading into political issues suggests otherwise.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GREEK JUNTA IN THE CANADIAN CONSCIOUSNESS: THE 1960S REACT

Academic studies dealing with the history of migrant groups in this country are generally uniform in the narrative that they convey. Groups of people leave one place en masse, arrive in Canada, and subsequently face hardships because of economic precariousness or social and cultural prejudices in the host population. Even in certain historical instances where Canadians and the state provide systems of support, it is done with a paternalistic mindset geared towards assimilation and disciplining migrants to be proper consumers and citizens.²³⁶ Instances of cross-collaboration between ethnics and the Canadian mainstream are either non-existent, or, poorly documented. In all likelihood, it is the latter. The general waning of negative sentiment of immigrants, particularly towards white ethnics in Canada, is generally understood as a consequence of policy often cited in examples such as the 1967 immigration reforms commonly known as the Points System or the policy of Multiculturalism. But as this dissertation argues, environments shape movements. On 21 April 1967, the military takeover of Greece's government created a platform for collaboration between Greeks resisting the authoritarian government and Canadians who were invested in various social movements of the 1960s. In many instances, Canadians joined Greek immigrants to form a chorus of voices that found the overthrow of democracy in Greece to be abhorrent and contrary to their political and social

²³⁶ For an in-depth look at how Canadians and the state moulded and shaped immigrants to Canada during the Cold War period, see, Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada*. (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006).

consciousness. This chapter examines the response of various mainstream actors in Canadian society and their reaction to a crisis of democracy in the nation of its birth.

The anti-junta movement in Toronto and Montreal was not exclusively led by Greeks in Canada. While chapters Four and Five demonstrate how the Canadian security state viewed various anti-junta factions of Canada's Greek community, perceptions of the resistance to the Greek government were not exclusively shaped by communist containment. Contemporaneously, North American society was in the grips of profound social change. The "sixties", as historians Lara Campbell and Dominique Clément argue, was a "transformative era for Canadian society that was diffuse and widespread."²³⁷ Political, religious, and grassroots organizers promoting a newly developing worldview of global humanitarianism championed equitable liberal democratic systems of power and took action against systems of oppression. The transformative era saw movements address economic, racial, political, and gender inequality. Chapter One focused on how Greeks in Toronto and Montreal worked to bring injustices in Greece to the forefront of the public mind, this chapter highlights the activities of others who engaged in similar work, but did so in the absence of a homeland consciousness. Following from an examination of this historical instance, this chapter will argue that non-Greek participation in the anti-Junta movement in Canada reflected a broader transformative process in Canada that saw the rise of a 1960s solidarity consciousness.

²³⁷ Lara Campbell and Dominique Clément, "Introduction: Time, Age, Myth: Towards a History of the Sixties," in Campbell, Clément, and Gregory S. Kealey eds., *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), pg. 3.

Popular participation of Canadian society in movements designed to influence political change in other nations was part of a complex historical moment. Many in the country began, “questioning authority, grappling with modernity, and rethinking nationhood and the permeability of national borders.”²³⁸ While Chapter Four speaks about this historical trajectory in Montreal, the huge wave of “oppositional thought”²³⁹ that swept through metropolises like Paris, London, Berlin, New York, Tokyo, Prague Chicago, Rome, and many others, also permeated English Canada. The response to local and international injustice reflected a growing political ethos influenced by Marxist analysis and a spirit of dissatisfaction with systems of social, economic, and political repression. While the degree to which Canadians, particularly youth, became radicalized in the country is debated,²⁴⁰ the proliferation of historical analysis of the Canadian 1960s generation speaks to the importance of the 1960s as a contextual lens that transcends the decade’s temporal boundaries. As an idea that shaped the identity of a generation and as a historical lens, the transformative 1960s should be more present in immigration studies beyond the realm of policy.

Viewing the 1960s decade and generation as an idea²⁴¹ as opposed to a construct of time is, as historians, Lara Campbell, Dominique Clément, and Gregory Kealey argue, “a useful

²³⁸ Ibid, pg. 7

²³⁹ Bryan Palmer, *Canada’s 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).

²⁴⁰ For more on the transition of how the 1960s generation has been perceived, see, Myrna Kostash, “Killing me Softly,” in *The Sixties in Canada: A Turbulent and Creative Decade*, Athena Palaeologu, ed. (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 2009).

²⁴¹ This is also the case in other countries. See Arthur Warwick, *The Sixties: Cultural Transformation in Britain, France, Italy and the United States*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) and Kostis Kernetis, *Children of the Dictatorship: Student Resistance, Cultural Politics, and the “Long 1960s” in Greece*. (New York: Berghahn, 2013).

category of historical analysis and idea worthy of study.”²⁴² With this in mind the social, moral, and political alliances reacting against the authoritarian seizure of power in Greece is not something exclusively related to the Greek immigrant experience. A wide-angled approach seems appropriate to study this historical juncture.

In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson argues that national narratives are mythologized constructs that selectively create identities through a process of historical and cultural amnesia. With the realization that nations are purposefully crafted, the alliances, collaborations, and wide ranging reactions that centered on Greece’s return to democracy challenge traditional narratives of the Canadian nation and ethnicity. Not only are the historical and geographical boundaries of the Canadian nation problematized, they challenge the historiographical narrative that suggests that ethnic history is separate from Canadian history. What is clear is that Greek immigrants did not engage in homeland political discourse in isolation from their Canadian counterparts. Rather, the spirit of the 1960s in Canada acted as a galvanizing force that mobilized public opinion against the Greek junta; bringing Canadians into Greek political space to challenge a repressive political system.

Throughout the 1960s, a generation of Canadians moved towards a re-conceptualization and reinterpretation of its own identity. Politics and protest were an intimate part of this shift. One important change was how people interpreted wealth and class. As historian Bryan Palmer argues, “Marxism did not initiate the decade’s radicalism, but it did, eventually, come to

²⁴² Lara Campbell, Dominique Clément, and Gregory S. Kealy, *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), page 7.

influence it mightily, even if many would, in turn, reject it forcefully.”²⁴³ The emergence of a “New Left” yielded an indelible mark on Canadian identity because of its lasting destabilization of everything traditional from the politics of race, sex, and gender, to the destruction of entrenched power in Quebec and other regions in Canada. The resonance of Marx’s philosophy, calling attention to the inevitable consolidation of capital and control did not resonate well with a generation that, through a major demographic shift known as the “baby boom,” came to possess unprecedented influence.²⁴⁴ While it is important not to stereotype an entire generation as radical or politically motivated, the theoretical underpinnings that buttressed the *zeitgeist* of the 1960s is an important component in understanding the many challenges to regimes of power that occurred in Canada and in the wider global community.

Canadian responses to the overthrow of democracy in Greece were in line with existing scepticism toward top-down systems of power. Reactions to the United States’ war with Vietnam, for example, called attention to the inherent consequences of American imperialism and the proliferation of violence by the American war machine. Student organizations like the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA) were followed by others that shared both anti-war and anti-American sentiment.²⁴⁵ While protests and anti-war voices in Canada did not have the same personal connections and extremeness as their American counterpart, the pervasiveness of Vietnam’s horrific scenes of violence and destruction in the Canadian media caused dismay across the country. In addition to grassroots student protests, organizations like the Voice of

²⁴³ Palmer, pg. 245.

²⁴⁴ Doug Owsram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby-Boom Generation*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

²⁴⁵ Palmer, pg. 272

Women (VOW) lobbied the Canadian government over various ethical issues such as the sale and use of chemical weapons.²⁴⁶

Another part of the 1960s ethos was the politicization of state power, to which many social movements responded. One example was organized labour, which replied to its industrial counterpart by organizing itself in ways reflecting Marxist analysis. Heightened affluence in Canada following the post-World War II economic boom gave workers unprecedented political power. The strength and mobilization of the labour movement forced business and state elites to recognize the grassroots movement as a legitimate force in Canadian society. In this postwar consensus, labour, business, and the Canadian state erected an agreeable framework of laws and profit sharing ensured to keep the peace in the industrial landscape. Still, as Bryan Palmer and Peter McInnis argue, a young cohort of unionists, unfamiliar with the pre-war union era, yet, simultaneously influenced by an external youth environment increasingly concerned with class, gender, and racial prejudice, took to radical means to raise the profile of their cause and win victories from their employers.²⁴⁷ “Hothead” wildcat strikes in the mid-1960s were the apex of industrial radicalism in the decade, but the culture of challenging the status quo through grassroots organizing was not only confined to labour.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁶ Tarah Brookfield, *Cold War Comforts: Canadian Women, Child Safety, and Global Insecurity*. (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier Press, 2012), pg. 170. See also Frances Early, “Canadian Women and the International Arena in the Sixties: The Voice of Women/La voix des femmes and the Opposition,” in Dimitry Anastakis, ed., Marcel Martel, contributor, *The Sixties: Passion, Politics, and Style*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2008).

²⁴⁷ Palmer (2009) and Peter S. McInnis, “‘Hothead Troubles’: Sixties-Era Wildcat Strikes in Canada,” in Lara Campbell, Dominique Clément, and Gregory S. Kealy, eds. *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012),

²⁴⁸ Ibid

In the fight for women's emancipation from an oppressive patriarchal mould, historians Stephen Hewitt and Christabelle Sethna explain, that, "Women's liberation emerged as one of the defining issues of the sixties."²⁴⁹ This argument is reflected in an example from 1967, which was the year that Prime Minister Lester Pearson established the Royal Commission on the Status of Women.²⁵⁰ Unlike previous generations of women's centered movements, which believed that change in the social and economic system could be achieved simply through female participation in these worlds, young women (and men) of the 1960s, to a much greater extent, believed in immediate and radical change for the status of women in Canadian society.

Canadian women's liberation groups viewed their struggle as parallel to that of oppressed peoples seeking liberation. Wars of decolonization, the civil rights movement, anti-war, Native, student, and labour activism, as well as American feminist organizing were major influences. However, Canadian women's liberation groups were far keener on a class-based analysis of women's oppression than were their American counterparts, reflecting the importance of socialism to feminism in Canada.²⁵¹

The class-based analysis of women's position in Canadian society reflected a pervasive mentality. Other movements were simultaneously informed and fuelled by criticisms of unjust entrenched systems of power.

The most widely recognized trope and form of a 1960s generation that sought to free itself from hierarchical social structures was that of the hippie. This image, now popularized as a dominant force in 1960s youth culture was very much a symbol of youth counterculture. In the

²⁴⁹ Steve Hewitt and Christabelle Sethna, "Sex Spying: The RCMP Framing of English-Canadian Women's Liberation Groups during the Cold War," in Lara Campbell, Dominique Clément, and Gregory S. Kealy, eds., *Debating Dissent: Canada and the Sixties*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), pg. 135.

²⁵⁰ Alvin Finkel, *Our Lives: Canada after 1945* 2nd ed. (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd. Publishers, 2012), pg. 231.

²⁵¹ Hewitt and Sethna, pg. 135

1960s, it was thought that the youth swept up in this movement were a lost generation whose lack of discipline and disregard for tradition was a catalyst for vice, most notably in the form of drugs, sex, and rock and roll.²⁵² In a study of Toronto's Yorkville district, the epicentre of hippie culture in the city prior to its gentrification, historian Stuart Henderson notes that the counterculture sentiment widely pervaded other social movements, "as if youth were an identity (even a race) in need of liberation from the repressive colonizing 'establishment.'"²⁵³

As the fight for women's liberation, labour, and counterculture demonstrate, the belief that grassroots social actors had the ability to mobilize and to shake up social systems was a powerful one that shaped perceptions of the world. In cases such as the Vietnam War, which involved powerful international actors, Canadians responded in ways that reflected an idea of social justice rooted in a narrative of popular liberal democratic consciousness. In many ways, this was reflected in non-Greek responses to Greece's military dictatorship from 1967 to 1974. While the 1960s may not have influenced the formative years of many actors in this chapter, the spirit of the decade certainly shaped the context of their decisions.

A broad assortment of religious leaders spoke out against the dictatorship in Greece.²⁵⁴

Rabbi Abraham Feinberg, for example, was one of the earliest expressions of this sentiment.

²⁵² Marcel Martel, "They smell bad, have diseases, and are lazy': RCMP Officers Reporting on Hippies in the Late Sixties," *Canadian Historical Review* Vol. 90, No. 2, (June 2009: pp. 215 – 245).

²⁵³ Stuart Henderson, *Making the Scene: Yorkville and Hop Toronto in the 1960s*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), pg. 20.

²⁵⁴ Prior to a failed counter-revolution on 13 December 1967, the Greek monarch occupied an ambiguous position in the country's political landscape. While the seizure of power on 21 April 1967 by the Greek colonels deposed democratic institutions in Greece, the regime forced the king into a symbolic figurehead position. Correctly or

During King Constantine's visit to Toronto, Rabbi Feinberg denounced the authoritarian regime in Greece before a crowd of 3,000 demonstrators at Queen's Park.²⁵⁵ Following his speech and an impromptu march to the Greek consulate, *Globe and Mail* reporters found the rabbi shouting at the crowd to "make all the noise you can so the King can hear it."²⁵⁶ The rabbi's involvement in the anti-dictatorship movement was part of his long list of activist causes. Feinberg himself "earned a worldwide reputation for his championship of the downtrodden, his embrace of radical causes, and his efforts to remove the barriers between Jews and non-Jews,"²⁵⁷ but he was also one of many others to concern themselves with the plight of the Greek people.

Canadian politicians were among the loudest voices to denounce Greece's military dictatorship, working in various ways to weaken of the colonel's regime. The initial focus of the action of several of Canada's members of parliament (MPs) was the detaining of political prisoners, particularly Andreas Papandreou. Along with other prominent politicians, Papandreou had been jailed from the early morning of 21 April 1967 until Christmas Eve 1967. Following his release, he formed the Panhellenic Liberation Movement (PAK - Πανελλήνιο Απελευθερωτικό Κίνημα) in Stockholm.²⁵⁸ Members of Canada's federal Liberal Party responded to Papandreou's imprisonment within days by contacting the Department of External

incorrectly, it was the perception that the king buoyed the military junta. For this reason, the king's tour of Toronto and Montreal in the summer of 1967 became a site of contestation for many Greeks and non-Greeks in both cities.

²⁵⁵ Greek rally protests king's backing of junta page 2, August 28, 1967 – *Globe and Mail*

²⁵⁶ *Ibid*

²⁵⁷ "Abraham Feinberg," in *Historica Canada*. <http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/abraham-feinberg/> accessed August 26, 2015

²⁵⁸ Stan Draenos, "Andreas Papandreou's Exile Politics: The First Phase (1968 – 1970)," *The Historical Review / La Revue Historique, Section of Neohellenic Research / Institute of Historical Research* Volume XI (2014): 31-65.

Affairs to determine if an intervention to release the embattled politician could be arranged.²⁵⁹

Liberal MP David Groos steered the campaign, which caused External Affairs to question whether calling for humane treatment of political prisoners was justified given that such events were normally treated as matters of domestic jurisdiction. Within a month of the junta's seizure of power however, federal politicians began to assert their clout through debate on Canada's defence assistance for Greece. In this case, many politicians took a public stand against aid being used for "dictatorial purposes."²⁶⁰

The chorus of MP voices against the dictatorship grew as the repressive measures in Greece made world news. The stance of Canadian MPs was expressly oppositional to the Greek regime, which had denied its citizens the rights thought to be central in liberal democracy. On 12 May 1967, Antonio Yanakis, a Liberal MP for Berthier – Maskinongé – Delanaudière, authored a petition sent directly to the Greek government that affirmed:

The following Liberal members of Parliament urge the Government of Greece to extend to all those imprisoned as a result of recent developments in Greece, the full protection of civil law. Canada like many other countries, has benefitted greatly from the democratic ideals and principles which originated in Greece and which have made your country an example to free people everywhere. We are confident these principles will be upheld in the present situation.²⁶¹

²⁵⁹ Library and Archives Canada, A 201300238_2013-09-11_14-01-46, File 20-1-2-GR, Department of External Affairs, Political Affairs – Policy and Background – Canada's Foreign Policy Trends and Relations – Greece, External Ott to Bonn (For SSEA) "Greek Coup: Safety of Papandreou Family," April 24, 1967.

²⁶⁰ Library and Archives Canada, A 201300238_2013-09-11_14-01-46, File 20-1-2-GR, Department of External Affairs, Political Affairs – Policy and Background – Canada's Foreign Policy Trends and Relations – Greece, M. Cadieux to European Division T.A. Williams, "Memorandum for the Minister: Talks with Mr. Economou- Gouras," June 8, 1967.

²⁶¹ Library and Archives Canada, A 201300238_2013-09-11_14-01-46, File 20-1-2-GR, Department of External Affairs, Political Affairs – Policy and Background – Canada's Foreign Policy Trends and Relations – Greece, petition authored by Antonio Yanakis, M.P. "Government of Greece," May 12, 1967.

Sixty Liberal MPs supported the appeal. In an act of defiance against proper diplomatic protocol, Yanakis and the other signatories sent their petition directly to Greece's government rather than through the Canadian embassy in Athens. This moral stand outraged Aristide Pilavachi, the Greek ambassador in Canada, who found the contravention of protocol to be a serious undermining of his relationship with Canadian authorities.²⁶² Most important, argued Pilavachi, was that two Cabinet Ministers and a Parliamentary Secretary appeared on the telegram, which suggested that the message represented the official position of the Canadian government. While Pilavachi resented the breach in protocol, the stand by the petition's signatories was a clear message that many in Canada's governing party found the dictatorship to be an abhorrent political entity.

The Liberal stance against Greece's dictatorship would manifest itself in other important ways. In December 1967, for example, Ian Wahn, Liberal MP for Toronto St. Paul, asked Prime Minister, Lester B. Pearson, for an appointment on behalf of a delegation of prominent Canadians of Greek background from Toronto and Montreal. The delegation wished to express their concern with Canadian recognition of the Greek military regime.²⁶³ This was not simply a political plea, but an expression of resistance against the moral and material support of an authoritarian regime with whom Canada and its Western allies had relations. Charles Caccia, Liberal MP for Davenport, expressed his support for Greece's return to democracy by endorsing

²⁶² Library and Archives Canada, A 201300238_2013-09-11_14-01-46, File 20-1-2-GR, Department of External Affairs, Political Affairs – Policy and Background – Canada's Foreign Policy Trends and Relations – Greece, "Memorandum for the Minister: Greek Situation: Protest by Canadian M.P.'s," May 19, 1967.

²⁶³ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25, Vol 25, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Non – Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, Newspaper Clipping, "Greece: Representations by Members of Greek Community in Canada," December 21, 1967.

the Panhellenic Liberation Movement (PAK) and its leader Andreas Papandreou.²⁶⁴ After being approached by PAK's Chairman, Caccia noted that the organization's mandate was a "worthwhile project".²⁶⁵ Despite Caccia's favourable perception of PAK, he was encouraged by Minister of External Affairs, Mitchell Sharp, to stay neutral. "Whatever one may think of this objective," Sharp wrote, "it is clear that, if the Canadian government endorsed it, it would be intervening in the domestic affairs of a friendly and allied country. Any support which might imply official endorsement of the Panhellenic Liberation Movement could, therefore, have serious repercussions."²⁶⁶

Similar to its Liberal counterpart, Canada's New Democratic Party (NDP) expressed serious opposition to the junta's unethical and repressive use of state power. In addition to doing so in Parliament, NDP MPs joined public protests to give legitimacy to the Greek voices that wished to see Canada take a tougher diplomatic stance against the dictatorship. At a protest in Toronto on 16 November 1968, James Renwick, Ontario NDP President and Member of Provincial Parliament (MPP) in the riding of Riverdale, joined PAK and the Canadian Friends of PAK to demand that the Canadian government, "cut diplomatic relations with the Greek military junta, enforce economic sanctions against Greece and press for Greece's expulsion from

²⁶⁴ For more on the Panhellenic Liberation Movement, see Chapter One.

²⁶⁵ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25, Vol 10112, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Non – Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, Newspaper Clipping, Charles L. Caccia to The Hon. M. Sharp, July 22, 1968.

²⁶⁶ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25, Vol 10112, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Non – Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, Newspaper Clipping, Mitchell Sharp to Charles Caccia, August 22, 1968.

NATO”.²⁶⁷ Additionally, the protest, attended by 400 members of Toronto’s Greek community, argued that the dictatorial regime’s recent referendum to ratify a new constitution was illegitimate. Despite a 92 per cent approval of the national plebiscite, attendees at the Toronto protest, including Renwick, noted that the vote had taken place under conditions of tyranny and martial law.²⁶⁸ A letter read to the meeting from Marcel Cadieux, Undersecretary of State for External Affairs, stated that the Canadian government was closely analyzing events in Greece and trying to ease the plight of political prisoners. Renwick argued that the Canadian government had failed to take a meaningful stand to support democracy in Greece. Overall, as the spirit of Renwick’s comments suggest, politicians embraced a moral imperative to support liberal democratic governmental structures outside of Canada’s national borders.

The fear that the abuse of state power by the military junta was influencing Greeks in Canada was also a concern for some politicians. While rumours of secret state agents from Greece reporting on Greek communities in North America swirled within the ethnic community,²⁶⁹ Canadian politicians used their influence to fight intimidation tactics that were employed to censor anti-dictatorship activity. In one unusual case, Greece’s ambassador to Canada, is said to have “complained of certain anti-Greek activities in Canada, and asked Mr. Sharp whether the Government could not take measures against people involved, whom he named.”²⁷⁰ While Sharp retorted that these individuals had broken no laws and were not

²⁶⁷ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25, Vol 10112, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Non – Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, Newspaper Clipping, “NATO expulsion suggested: Ottawa urged to act against junta in Greece,” date unpublished.

²⁶⁸ Ibid

²⁶⁹ For more on the circulation of rumours related to Greek surveillance in Canada, see Chapter 1 and Chapter 3.

²⁷⁰ Clyde Sanger, “Sharp gives report of torture to Commons: Canada asks Greece to stop ill-treatment in prisons,” *Globe and Mail*, May 23, 1970.

deserving of any punishment, Pilavachi's insinuation compelled one prominent individual to defend any Canadian's right to protest. On 26 May 1970, John Harney, Provincial Secretary of the Ontario NDP called the Department of External Affairs to express his "unease" that these accusations could be made by an ambassador.²⁷¹ The power exercised by Pilavachi was something that Eastern European countries might be used to, argued Harney, but "surely it was unusual for a supposedly western country to do so."

In a powerful letter to Mitchell Sharp, John Brewin echoed the above sentiment, particularly as they related to rumours of a possible visit to Canada by Brigadier Pattakos of Greece. Brewin would eventually win an electoral seat for the NDP in Victoria, British Columbia in the 1988 federal election, but grew up in Toronto. His father, Andrew Brewin was a long-time member of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and was later elected to parliament in 1962 as an NDP MP. Trained as a lawyer, John Brewin supported issues championed by the NDP, including Greece's return to democracy. In response to the possible visit of General Pattakos to Canada, Brewin wrote:

Any Canadian welcome to the Greek regime represents an affront to decency; a betrayal of Greek democracy and the principles for which our Country has stood in international affairs.

Any sign of approval by the Canadian government of the present Greek administration will certainly be used by the regime to strengthen its position in Greece and to further destroy liberty in that troubled country.

I urge you to withdraw any welcome and to advise Brigadier Pattakos that he has no place in Canada.²⁷²

²⁷¹ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 Vol. 9364, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11 , Department of External Affairs, A.P. Sherwood to Mr. Collins, May 26, 1970.

²⁷² Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 Vol. 9364, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11 , Department of External Affairs, John F. Brewin to Mitchell Sharp, March 11, 1971.

These activities by politicians in Canada showed that all aspects of oppressive power, even if occurring outside of the country, was to be resisted. While many politicians, particularly within the federal and provincial NDP, wrote their leaders and participated in grassroots organizing against Greece's dictatorship, others took more direct forms of action. One of the most high profile examples of how many in Canada's political class wished to directly challenge unjust uses of state power in Greece was the effort of Karl Jaffary. Jaffary was a seasoned lawyer who was elected to Toronto City Council for Ward 7 in 1969.²⁷³ Prior to his election, Jaffary was active in Toronto's Cabbagetown, resisting the city's urban renewal plans. Along with Toronto Mayor David Crombie who ushered in a brand of socially conscience politics in Toronto City Hall, Jaffary worked towards regulating the city's booming development industry.²⁷⁴ He was also active with the federal NDP, serving as vice-president from 1969 to 1973.²⁷⁵ Throughout his career, Jaffary showed a commitment to a new brand of municipal politics that sought to resist inequality, uplift the downtrodden, and use local government powers to solve social problems. As his prominence grew, so did his sensitivity to world issues.

In 1970, Jaffary travelled to Athens as a representative of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association. The purpose of the trip was to join a group of foreign lawyers who would observe and subsequently prepare a report on the trial of Democratic Defence (*Dimokratiki Amyna*). The

²⁷³ "Shadowing in Greece described by Jaffary," *The Globe and Mail*, Monday, April 6, 1970.

²⁷⁴ For more on Jaffary, Crombie, and Toronto City Council during the late-1960s and 1970s, see, John Sewell, *How We Changed Toronto: The inside story of twelve creative, tumultuous years in civic life, 1968 – 1980*. (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company Ltd., Publishers, 2015); Jon Caulfield, *The Tiny Perfect Mayor*. (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1974).

²⁷⁵ "Karl Jaffary," https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_Jaffary, accessed September 16, 2015.

team included lawyers and academics representing the following organizations: International Commission of Jurists, International Federation of Human Rights, International Association of Democratic Jurists, the Belgian League of Human Rights, the Conference of Presidents of the West German Universities, German Jurists Association, the French League of Human Rights, the Paris Bar, and the Canadian Civil Liberties Association.²⁷⁶ In the trial, 35 people were accused of disseminating ideas promoting the overthrow of the state.²⁷⁷ The accused were largely upper-middle class individuals including lawyers, accountants, university professors, and successful professionals who “claimed”²⁷⁸ that they were being tortured in Greek prisons.²⁷⁹ After arriving in Athens, Jaffary and his counterparts were denied access to the trials by the Director-General of the Department of Press and Information of the Office of the Prime Minister, who advised the international delegation that foreign observers constituted “an insult to the dignity of Greek justice.”²⁸⁰ Despite facing obstacles in Athens, Jaffary’s report had two major consequences that fit neatly with a spirit of protest that underscored many of the Canadian responses to Greece’s dictatorship.

First, Jaffary exposed the state surveillance and violence that Greece’s citizens were subject to in their daily lives. What he highlighted upon his return, was that the motivation of the

²⁷⁶ City of Toronto Archives, Karl Jaffary Fonds, Fonds 1309, SC 309 Box 1, File 8, “Joint Statement Issued by the International Legal Observers at the So-Called Democratic Defence Trials in Athens”, March 30, 1970.

²⁷⁶ “Shadowing in Greece described by Jaffary,” *The Globe and Mail*, Monday, April 6, 1970.

²⁷⁷ “Shadowing in Greece described by Jaffary,” *The Globe and Mail*, Monday, April 6, 1970.

²⁷⁸ The use of quotation marks connotes double meaning. We now know that torture of Greek political prisoners was widespread.

²⁷⁹ “Shadowing in Greece described by Jaffary,” *The Globe and Mail*, Monday, April 6, 1970.

²⁸⁰ City of Toronto Archives, Karl Jaffary Fonds, Fonds 1309, SC 309 Box 1, File 8, “Joint Statement Issued by the International Legal Observers at the So-Called Democratic Defence Trials in Athens”, March 30, 1970.

“Joint Statement Issued by the International Legal Observers at the So-Called Democratic Defence Trials in Athens”, March 30, 1970.

Greek state to clamp down on liberties was highly ideological and political. Jaffary told the media that his hotel room was searched, he was constantly followed, and he was sometimes photographed. The actions of the police agents created a “James Bond kind of atmosphere”.²⁸¹ The city councillor also told a *Globe and Mail* reporter that he grew accustomed to the surveillance and eventually began to wave to state agents. As an individual who had spent a great amount of time fighting for voiceless and politically alienated members of society, Jaffary was adept at mobilizing grassroots opinions against social and political tyranny. In many ways, his work in Greece was underscored by the same socially conscious activism that he had addressed earlier in his political career.

The second important facet of Jaffary’s commentary was that he was Canadian and therefore considered objective. His profile as a politician taking part in a highly visible visit to Greece, then, was a problem for the double-sided stand of the Canadian government, which made public calls for the humane treatment of political prisoners, but also insisted that it stay out of Greece’s internal matters. Correspondence between the Canadian embassy in Athens and the Ministry of External Affairs shows that embassy officials were highly critical of Greece’s judicial process and sympathetic to revelations of torture made public by a European human rights report. Still, the Canadian government wished to delay making official policy decisions on Greece. Therefore, when reflecting on Jaffary’s visit, the Canadian embassy commented, “Report of Jaffary to [Canadian] Civil Liberties Union, CIIA²⁸², NDP or to any other

²⁸¹ “Shadowing in Greece described by Jaffary,” *The Globe and Mail*, Monday, April 6, 1970.

²⁸² The CIA’s mandate “is to promote a deeper understanding of international affairs and of Canada’s role in a changing world by providing members with a non-partisan, nation-wide forum for informed discussion, analysis and debate.” For more, visit www.cictoronto.ca.

organizations, not to mention radio interview, will certainly generate criticism of Greek [government] and present internal situation.”²⁸³

The connection of Jaffary and other politicians to organizations such as the CIA was an important part of building broad public support for various initiatives. It was also significant in attracting other influential social actors. Academics were an important part of organizations such as the CIA because, in many respects, their social standing gave them special clout. As academics translated often difficult theoretical language into comprehensible forms of public knowledge, their contribution to the many 1960s and 1970s movements, became immeasurable. Like the protest against Vietnam and for women’s liberation, workers rights, and many other solidarity movements, academics shaped public discourse on authoritarianism in Greece and Canada’s relationship with the Mediterranean nation.

The issue that captivated academics most was the imprisonment of Andreas Papandreou. The extent to which he shaped Canadian perceptions of Greece should not be overlooked as he was indirectly involved in creating a solidarity movement between the Western academic community and the people of Greece. North American academics were particularly critical of the military junta’s record of heavy-handed rule. Papandreou’s imprisonment showed how an authoritarian government could use the power of the nation-state to coerce, silence, and discipline its subjects.

²⁸³ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 Vol. 9364, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11 , Department of External Affairs, Athens to TT Exter 130 Priority de Paris, “Greek Trials, April 7, 1970.

In order to bring awareness of the suppression of freedoms in Greece and to lobby for the better treatment of Papandreou, many academics engaged in several forms of collective action. One of the earliest such examples occurred when a group of professors petitioned King Constantine for the release of their colleague. The petition was circulated at various economic and mathematical societies at the University of Toronto.²⁸⁴ Leading the charge, was Professor Leonid Hurwicz, a faculty member and former colleague of Papandreou at the University of Minnesota.²⁸⁵ In addition to the petition, the group led by Hurwicz appealed to the Canadian public for support. In an interview, Hurwicz called on Canada, a bastion of liberty, to use its influence. Canada, he argued, “enjoys a high moral prestige in the world and belongs to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization of which Greece also is a member.”

Professors saw themselves as influential in political change, even if it was in a distant country and displayed a feeling of global citizenry. In June 1967, Tillo Kuhn, Professor of Economics at York University used his position and that of his institution to directly influence Papandreou’s release from prison. In a letter to the Director of the Cultural Affairs Division of the Department of External Affairs, Kuhn wrote that Papandreou had been chosen as the first recipient of the Osler-Hammond Lectureship in Economics.²⁸⁶ It was Kuhn’s wish that the Canadian Embassy in Athens and Margaret Papandreou, the wife of the professor, assist in delivering the invitation by hand. To ensure that the letter was taken seriously by the Canadian

²⁸⁴ “US professors to petition king,” *Toronto Star* August, 31, 1967

²⁸⁵ Hyman, Ralph, “Papandreou’s release sought by academics,” *The Globe and Mail*, August 31, 1967.

²⁸⁶ Library and Archives Canada, A 201300238_2013-09-11_14-01-46, File 20-1-2-GR, Department of External Affairs, Political Affairs – Policy and Background – Canada’s Foreign Policy Trends and Relations – Greece, Kuhn to Director, Cultural Affairs Division, Department of External Affairs, June 19, 1967.

government, Kuhn copied James Gillies, Vice-President, York University, and J. T. Saywell, Dean, Faculty of Arts and Science. J. G. H. Halstead, Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs, declined the invitation, but provided the following positive reflection; “the knowledge, when it reaches official Greek ears, that a Canadian University, along with several other foreign institutions, has made him an academic offer, is likely to have a positive rather than a negative effect.”²⁸⁷ The invitation to give a lecture at York University could be used as evidence to delegitimize the arguments that kept Papandreou in prison.

Canadians for a Free Greece, an anti-junta organization consisting of prominent Canadians, wished to highlight how freedom was being stifled in Greece, but also, compel Canadians to do something about it. The committee’s National Chairman was Dr. Lionel Rubinoff, a professor of philosophy who had graduated from the University of Toronto and took a post at Trent University in 1971.²⁸⁸ In a flyer circulated in Toronto, the committee’s first word of advice for those who wished to help Greeks, was to “see the film ‘Z’. It is a real story and it happened in Greece”.²⁸⁹ Z was the 1969 French language film directed by Costa Gavras, a Greek-French film director of political films, which was a retelling of the assassination of Grigoris Lambrakis in 1963, a prominent member of the political left and Member of Parliament from 1961 until his death. Lambrakis was immortalized by the political left who saw his death as

²⁸⁷ Library and Archives Canada, A 201300238_2013-09-11_14-01-46, File 20-1-2-GR, Department of External Affairs, Political Affairs – Policy and Background – Canada’s Foreign Policy Trends and Relations – Greece, J. G. H. Halstead to Tillo Kuhn, July 11, 1967.

²⁸⁸ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 Vol. 9364, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11 , Department of External Affairs, “Canadians for a Free Greece,” date not published. According to this document, the organizational structure of Canadians for a Free Greece was as follows: National Chairman: Dr. Lionel Rubinoff; Treasurer: Karl D. Jaffary; Secretary: John O’Grady.

²⁸⁹ Ibid

a symbol of far-right domination of Greece's political system. For Canadians, Z was a representation of an unpalatable reality; that political thoughts could get someone murdered.

Canadians for a Free Greece also sought to emphasize the extent to which the Greek state muzzled free expression, suspending the country's constitution, imposing censorship laws, and "violently suppress[ing] human rights".²⁹⁰ Canadians for a Free Greece also criticized the international community, arguing that authoritarianism in Greece could not exist without the support of NATO. Calling attention to the hypocrisy of this alliance to defend democratic interests, Canadians for a Free Greece also opined that NATO, "cannot sacrifice that principle [democracy] to 'protect' it." In a detailed plan, Canadians for a Free Greece gave Canadians explicit instructions on what they could do to demonstrate their solidarity with oppressed people and help bring an end to the reign of terror in Greece. These tactics were meant to isolate the Greek dictatorship politically and economically. While the problems of Greece may have been distant to the average Canadian, Canadians for a Free Greece argued that ignoring the issue of tyranny could have serious repercussions in the future. "Today the problem is the dictatorship in Greece. Tomorrow Italy may be added to the list of countries where 'efficiency' has been substituted for freedom. If that happens it will be a European problem and it will be your problem." Evidently, a progressive future required collective action in order to ensure the perpetuation of democratic structures. Canadians for a Free Greece endorsed the following three point call to action; write to MPs and express concern over the Canadian government's relationship with the military dictatorship; "Do not travel to Greece on your vacation"; contribute \$2.00 or more "for a Canadian educational program, the support of families whose heads are

²⁹⁰ Ibid

political prisoners, and support of the liberation movements.” Overall, the platform to influence change in Greece employed respectable forms of collective action.

In addition to attracting academics and politicians who wrote letters, leaflets, and engage in popular activism, Canadians for a Free Greece also supported forms of radicalism to undermine the Greek dictatorship. As the junta entered its third year of power, many questioned the efficacy of international diplomacy to bring about democratic change in Greece. Well into the 1970s, alternative forms of collective action began to target Greece directly. One of the most fitting demonstrations of the increasing Canadian resistance to military rule in Greece was the formation of pirate radio. On 23 March 1970, the front page of Toronto’s *Globe and Mail* reported, “Pirate radio beams into Greece”.²⁹¹ The headline reflected a wave of international grassroots solidarity with the people of Greece. Following the first statement given by Andreas Papandreou, John Harney, Secretary of the Ontario NDP took part in the initiative and was one of the first anti-government voices to be broadcast into Greece from a radio station on a yacht at sea.²⁹² Harney had recorded the broadcast in Canada and the tape was flown to the broadcast point. The radio program was beamed to Greek shores by a shortwave transmitter, which was strategically anchored just beyond Greek territorial waters. The ship, a 35-foot ketch called “HEBE” cost \$12,000.00 to prepare for the activity. The large amount of money was collected from unknown “prominent benefactors” through various small loans.²⁹³ Ultimately, Canadians for a Free Greece supported the clandestine activity in order to demonstrate to the people of

²⁹¹ “Pirate radio beams into Greece,” *Globe and Mail*, March 23, 1970.

²⁹² Ibid

²⁹³ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 Vol. 9364, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11 , The Canadian Embassy in Athens to The Under-Secretary of State for External Affairs,, April 10, 1970.

Greece that resistance activities had international support. Another hope of the organization was that the radio would attract Canadian interest because of the perception that the organization was doing something tangible. Harney expressed the feelings of a generation that had grown intolerant of oppressive structures, “personal sorrow became a political cause”. He added “We now see in the world the beginnings of an international movement against militarism and we must act in support of this movement in the most effective way each of us knows.”²⁹⁴ It was this sentiment that compelled two other Canadians, Charles Taylor, a former *Globe and Mail* Correspondent, and Yves Gelinas, son of French-Canadian performer and dramatist Gratien Gelinas, to travel to the yacht outside of Greece’s borders to ensure that the project was proceeding successfully.²⁹⁵

The project however, was ill fated. In contrast to the positive spin conveyed by the *Globe and Mail*, *The Toronto Star* and Greek media outlets portrayed the initiative as a failure. *The Star* reported that the poor shape of the yacht and lack of resources made, even the return of the boat, “at best, only probable.”²⁹⁶ *The Star* also focused on the contribution to the broadcast by Andreas Papandreou whose recorded message called for a “solid, dynamic, unified liberation movement,” and for Greeks to “Block the march of totalitarianism”. From the start, the operation experienced setbacks because the boat began to come apart at sea. While a temporary fix to these problems was managed, the crew was unable to use an antenna that it had constructed and had to create a make-shift replacement.

²⁹⁴ “Pirate radio beams into Greece,” *Globe and Mail*, March 23, 1970

²⁹⁵ “3 Canadians on pirate radio,” *Globe and Mail*, March 25, 1970.

²⁹⁶ Ken Lefolm, “Canadian’ radio versus Greece – and cruel sea,” *Toronto Star*, March 25, 1970.

The above problems were compounded by the fact that several radio signals were simultaneously being sent in to Greece, including from the British Broadcasting Corporation, the Voice of America, Radio Paris, and Radio Cologne. In Canada, reports surfaced that the Greek government insisted that not even one word of the broadcasts was heard on Greek shores.²⁹⁷ Greek media²⁹⁸ outlets agreed with this take. *Nea Politia (Νέα Πολιτεία)* termed the initiative a “Complete Failure,” adding that Andreas Papandreou had “made a mess of it”.²⁹⁹ *Vradyni* (Βραδυνή) confirmed this report, also questioning the motives of Harney and Canadians for a Free Greece. “Here too as everywhere else, he made a mess of it, the man who goes about the world begging, the well-known Andreas from Patras; he tries now to continue his lucrative anti-Hellenic wanderings on the seas. For this purpose he has fished a naive, silly and ambitious Canadian, self-proclaimed as a candidate leader of a non-existent Canadian party”.³⁰⁰ Be that as it may, the fact that the Greek government allowed such an incident to be publicized was a victory for the Canadians for a Free Greece.

Within Canada, the academic community’s interest in Greece was simultaneously shaped by student participation.³⁰¹ Like other contemporaneous forms of social agitation, this one transcended borders of geography, age, culture, etc. Toronto’s York University was host to

²⁹⁷ Robert McDonald, “Can’t hear a word Greek regime says,” *Toronto Star*, March 25, 1970.

²⁹⁸ It must be noted that newspapers were heavily censored in Greece during this time.

²⁹⁹ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 Vol. 9364, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11 , Department of External Affairs, “Complete Failure,” April 5, 1970.

³⁰⁰ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 Vol. 9364, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11 , Department of External Affairs, “On the seas,” March 4, 1970.

³⁰¹ Karen Dubinsky, ed., *New World Coming: The Sixties and the Shaping of Global Consciousness*. (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2009).

Greek Freedom Week in November 1970.³⁰² The event called to action student organizations and included some radical elements calling for the occupation of Greek and American consular buildings as well as the offices of NATO command.³⁰³ The weeklong event was designed to mobilize mass participation through cultural expressions such as music, dance, theatre, and poetry. Kicking off the festivities was a lecture by Andreas Papandreou, titled “Democracy at Gunpoint: The Greek Front”.³⁰⁴ Throughout the week, other academics took to the podium, including Dr. George Anastaplo of the University of Chicago & Rosemary College, Dr. Hugh Mason of the University of Toronto, Dr. J. Grant Sinclair of Osgoode Law School, and a York University contingent comprised of Dr. Sotiris Papapolites and Dr. Lionel Rubinoff. The week was a resounding success, attracting approximately 5,000 attendees to the campus.³⁰⁵

Hosting the event at York University was no accident. In addition to Papandreou’s post there, student activism at York University entered a new era in 1966 following the recommendations of the Duff-Berdahl Commission on university government in Canada.³⁰⁶ The report challenged student roles in universities as customers seeing them as something more akin to partners, albeit unequal ones.³⁰⁷ In the late 1960s and early 1970s, argues John Saywell, the Left in York University’s community criticized international corporate capitalism and the social

³⁰² Clara Thomas Archives & Special Collections, York University Libraries , George Papadatos Collection (Greek Canadian History Project). Pamphlet, *Greek Freedom Week: November 16th through 20th – York U.*

³⁰³ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 Vol. 9364, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11 , “Anti-Greek Junta Demonstrations,” September 28, 1970.

³⁰⁴ *Greek Freedom Week: November 16th through 20th – York U.* This was also the title of Papandreou’s book, which he released in 1970.

³⁰⁵ The number is largely based on unofficial recollections by people who were there. The evidence is anecdotal but has been corroborated by several different parties.

³⁰⁶ John Saywell, *Someone to Teach Them: York and the Great University Explosion, 1960 – 1973.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), pg. 114.

³⁰⁷ Ibid

inequality, economic exploitation, war, and imperialism that it inspired. Greek Freedom Week fit this mould. While student action against the Greek dictatorship at York's Glendon campus was virtually non-existent, Freedom Week attracted crowds to hear speakers condemn Greece and the American imperial forces that buoyed its government. In this context, Papandreou began the event with a lecture to 300 people, arguing that Greeks in Greece would need to do more to bring about democratic change in the country "because American pressure has foiled attempts through international channels."³⁰⁸

Another prominent speaker was John Harney who advocated Canada's withdrawal from NATO, or, as he argued, "At the very least, Canada could complain".³⁰⁹ Harney opined that, "NATO is an alliance designed to preserve freedom and democracy in Europe and there is no other philosophical or moral reason for its existence". The threat to pull out of the international body, he argued, would ultimately force the United States and the global community to challenge their tacit support of tyranny in Greece. Not everyone was on board, however. Dr. Papapolites, a Greek-born political science faculty member, argued that by taking such a strong measure, Canada would only strengthen nationalistic and anti-American rhetoric in Greece.³¹⁰ NATO's role was a hot-button issue at Greek Freedom Week. Students for a Free Greece (SFG), an organization formed at York University, took the position espoused by Harney. In an interview in a student newspaper, SFG spokesperson and York student, Speros Draenos claimed, "if it were not for the U.S. military aid supplied to the junta under the NATO alliance, 'the colonels' dictatorship would soon collapse.'"

³⁰⁸ "Papandreou says junta in Greece may last 'years', *Toronto Star*, November 17, 1970.

³⁰⁹ "Resign from NATO, Harney tells Canada," *Globe and Mail*, November 19, 1970.

³¹⁰ *Ibid*

The alliance of university faculty and students was an organic one that inspired varied degrees of activism. In addition to events like Greek Freedom Week, academics and students sought to protect their peers from state repression in Greece. While the imprisonment of academics was not unusual under the Greek junta, one particular case compelled the National Committee of the World University Service (WUS) of Canada to take action. On 24 May 1968, Stelios Nestor was arrested in his home in Salonika.³¹¹ Nestor was the General Secretary of Greek World University Service and an executive member of World University Service, headquartered in Geneva. Initially, Nestor's wife was given visitation privileges, but shortly thereafter, he was denied communication with anyone despite not having any charges laid against him. Additionally, the World University Service learned that Nestor was being tortured while being detained. On 12 November 1968, a military court sentenced him to sixteen and a half years of imprisonment.³¹²

In a letter written to Greece's Ambassador to Canada, Aristide Pilavachi, the WUS conveyed a motion passed at an international assembly held in Leysin, Switzerland in July 1968. The motion expressed deep concern over the imprisonment of Nestor and supported his plea of innocence. Following the lead of the international umbrella organization, the World University Service of Canada disseminated information related to the unjust imprisonment of their colleague, promoted the signing of an international petition to be delivered to the Greek

³¹¹ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 vol. 10112, file 20-18-1-11, Non-Party Groups – Activity of Emigre Organizations – Greeks and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, World University Service of Canada to His Excellency Aristide N. Pilavachi, November 19, 1968.

³¹² *Ibid.* Also, note that Nestor was charged under Law No. 509 of 1947 according to this document.

government and the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, and circulated to local WUS bodies, a detailed bibliography of written works and films on Greece for the purpose of recruiting support for its cause. Included in this campaign was a strongly worded personal statement by David Hoye, General Secretary of the WUSC,

I would like to convey to you in the strongest terms the distaste with which the National Committee of WUSC regards your government's treatment of Mr. Stelios Nestor. Mr. Nestor's incarceration is no internal Greek matter. He is an academic, a person committed to democratic forms of government, and an outspoken and active member of the international university community. He is persecuted not for where he is, or who he is, but for what he is, and his oppression is immediately meaningful to all members of the Canadian academic community.³¹³

The statement was, in large part, a reflection of international coordination of the academic community to influence democratic change in Greece. In addition to Hoye's letter, for example, the WUS put out a communiqué in the German press. The German branch used Nestor's trial to call public attention to the "absolutely one sided conduct of the proceedings," which had turned the extension of supposed "rights into a farce."³¹⁴ Following unsubstantiated claims of Nestor's involvement with Greece's communist front, the prosecution emphasized the academic's circulation of letters, bulletins, and stickers placed on automobiles, reading "Democracy will win. Democratic Defense."³¹⁵ The press release accused the Greek judicial system of using communist paranoia to justify excessive state force. The apparent offences, argued the German branch of the WUS, would be characterized as lawfully accepted practices in any democratic nation. The German Committee underlined the importance of democratic institutions and

³¹³ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 vol. 10112, file 20-18-1-11, Non-Party Groups – Activity of Emigre Organizations – Greeks and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, World University Service of Canada to His Excellency Aristide N. Pilavachi, November 19, 1968, pg. 3.

³¹⁴ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 vol. 10112, file 20-18-1-11, Non-Party Groups – Activity of Emigre Organizations – Greeks and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, World University Service, German Committee, "Press Communique," November 15, 1968

³¹⁵ *Ibid*, pg. 2

consequently protested “vehemently against this judgement of terror over distinguished personalities whose only concern was to establish in Greece the respect for parliamentary democracy and human rights.”

Correspondence between Canadian organizations and the Canadian government reflected solidarity with pro-democratic sentiment related to Greece. In addition to women’s advocacy campaigns in the realm of labour, the Congress of Canadian Women, pressured the Canadian government to condemn political torture.³¹⁶ In a letter to Canada’s Department of External Affairs, the Congress wrote, “On behalf of the 137 women of Greece now held as political prisoners, we beg you to use your high offices to free these women.”³¹⁷ It was not merely the fate of the imprisoned women that concerned the Congress, however. The larger issue was the absence of political freedom in Greece. The letter argued that the small nation had fought fascism during World War II, but the military dictatorship had effectively robbed the Greek people of their victory. As many others did, the Congress also harkened back to the glory of Greece’s antiquity, noting, “It is unthinkable that Greece, the Mother of Democracy, should deny to men and women the right to struggle for freedom.”³¹⁸ The solidarity that these women displayed reflected an activist culture that was not simply Canadian-centered. Others joined this chorus of voices.

³¹⁶ G. Douglas Vaisey, *The Labour Companion: A Bibliography of Canadian Labour History Based on Materials Printed from 1950 to 1975*. (Halifax: Committee on Canadian Labour History), Page 101.

³¹⁷ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 vol. 9364, file 20-18-1-11, Political Affairs – Non-Party Groups – Activity of Emigre Organizations – Greeks and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, The Congress of Canadian Women to Mitchell Sharp, RG 25 Vol. 9363, March 24, 1969.

³¹⁸ *Ibid*

For some, the student uprising at the Athens Polytechnic University in November 1973 was emblematic of the concentration of power in tyrannical governments. At a rally, the Coordinating Council of Antidictorial Committee Organizations of Montreal commemorated those that had lost their lives in the incident, but also criticized the larger power structures that they felt were responsible for the buoying of the military state in Greece. At the event in May 1974, a crowd of demonstrators presented a four-part resolution that reached the desk of Mitchell Sharp. The statement paid tribute to those that had been killed “by the coward lackeys of American imperialism.”³¹⁹ The remaining three parts to the resolution were as follows:

2. We extend warm salute to the beloved Greek people, to its heroic youth, to the hostages of the regime, to all political prisoners in the dreadful concentration camp and in the prisons of the security police.
3. We vehemently protest the ongoing outrageous tortures and interrogations of the fascists conducted against Greek patriots and we hold them responsible as well as their supporters and their American patrons for the enslavement of the Greek people.
4. We appeal to Minister of External Affairs Mr. Mitchell Sharp to support the struggle of the Greek people.³²⁰

While many of the above forms of solidarity occurred in spaces typically associated with political activism, there was also mainstream media opposition to the Greek dictatorship. In particular, journalists and Canadians writing in to their local newspapers expressed their fervent opposition to Greece’s undemocratic institutions. In their reporting of events from Greece, Canada’s media outlets were cynical about the new policies adopted by the junta. On 28 April 1967 for example, *The Globe and Mail* reported that the Greek government had decided to

³¹⁹ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 vol. 9364, file 20-18-1-11, Political Affairs – Non-Party Groups – Activity of Emigre Organizations – Greeks and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, Coordinating Council of Antidictorial Committee Organizations of Montreal to Minister of External Affairs, Mr. Mitchell Sharp, “Resolution,” May 7, 1974.

³²⁰ *Ibid*, pg. 2.

prohibit long hair for boys as one of its first social decrees. The paper argued that morality by the inches was “clearly indefensible. Styles in hair, clothing, or manners are far too transitory ever to be attached to the basic values of society.”³²¹ The article asked whether the banning of long hair was something that could be deemed appropriate for the twentieth century. The *Toronto Star* echoed the sentiment by running a bold print headline on the front page of its 10 May 1967 issue, titled, “Greece bans long-haired tourists”.³²²

A *Globe and Mail* reporter commented, “In drastically upsetting the democratic institutions of their nation, the generals seem to have acted with reckless irresponsibility. Curtailing basic freedoms and arresting several thousand political prisoners, they have perpetrated what may shape up to be a national disaster.”³²³ The *Toronto Star* took the position that, “Canada would be foolish to go ahead with plans to offer \$1,500,000 in arms aid to the military regime in Greece”,³²⁴ adding that, “The sum of \$1,500,000 is not much by modern budgetary standards. But we can think of better uses for it than pouring it down a dictator’s gun barrels.”³²⁵ Mass surveillance and censorship were deplored as was the suppression of a free press. A 17 October 1967 *Globe and Mail* article, a reporter commented that Greek print media had become as “dull and as wholesome as prison fare. There is a deadly sameness about them.”³²⁶ *The Gazette* in Montreal also outlined the crackdown on Greece’s free press, outlining

³²¹ “Not By a hair’s breadth,” *The Globe and Mail*, April 28, 1967.

³²² “Greece bans long-haired tourist,” *Toronto Star*, May 10, 1967.

³²³ “Democracy outflanked,” *Globe and Mail*, April 25, 1967.

³²⁴ “A Second look at aid to tyrants” *Toronto Star*, May 12, 1967.

³²⁵ *Ibid*

³²⁶ Patrick O’Donovan, “Greece: where the censor still reigns,” *Globe and Mail*, October 17, 1967.

how Helen Vlachou, publisher of Greek daily newspapers *Kathimerini* and *Messimvrini* had been arrested for insulting the Greek junta.³²⁷

The treatment of political prisoners in Greece created general revulsion. As Canadians began to see their existence in more global terms following the Second World War, international institutions like the United Nations played an important role in shaping how nation-states across the world ought to treat their citizens. For this reason, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, endorsed by all UN members, and stating that no human should be subjected to torture or inhumane treatment was invoked by a reporter commenting on prisons in Greece. As anti-apartheid activist and political exile Colin Legum argued, “Greece was a signatory to that convention; yet during the past few months prisoners of the Greek military regime have been tortured in a way that made a doctor exclaim after examining someone who had been interrogated by security officers: ‘We have surpassed our medieval forefathers.’”³²⁸

Stories of arbitrary imprisonment and pending executions were numerous in the Canadian mainstream media. Greece was an example of a nation-state run wild, whose dictatorship had no moral authority to impose its rule. Consequently, most news outlets condemned the dictatorship. This was true across the political spectrum including the *Toronto Telegram* (a conservative newspaper), *The Toronto Star* (a liberal newspaper), and *The Globe and Mail* (an elite conservative paper). On 16 August 1968, nearly an entire page of *The Globe and Mail* was

³²⁷ “Greek Publisher Taken to Court,” *The Gazette*, October 18, 1967.

³²⁸ Colin Legum, “The world still has a long way to go,” *Globe and Mail*, December 5, 1967.

dedicated to a story under the banner “The tortures of living under the Greek colonels”.³²⁹ Journalist James Becket chronicled his trip to Athens as part of an Amnesty International campaign to help political prisoners. His words filled the page with both explicit and subtle illustrations of how Greece’s military dictatorship had clamped down on freedoms. Candid in his message, Becket wrote that he had travelled to Greece to help “those ‘prisoners of conscience’ who have neither advocated nor practiced violence, but are imprisoned for their ideas.” He provided several examples of arbitrary arrest; “you hear about the cases of people sentenced to four years in prison for criticizing the Government, three years for ‘insulting authority’”. He offered shocking testimonies of those who had personally experienced the terror of the Greek state. The stories were haunting and numerous. It “became possible to gently urge women to discuss having fingers or even gun barrels shoved up their vaginas and wrenched violently around, or to speak of the device...that, when mounted drove water under enormous pressure up the prisoner’s anus.” In addition to the brutality conveyed by Becket’s story was the constant reminder, purposefully inserted by the author, that torture in Greece was “arbitrary” and “wholesale.”

Throughout the early 1970s, for example, newspapers reflected upon the relationship between Canada, Greece, and the international community under the auspices of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). For many, support for international institutions like NATO needed to be couched in meaningful applications of the organization’s mandate. The desire to push Greek adherence to NATO’s articles was a prominent theme in media outlets most eloquently conveyed by Escott Reid, Principal of Glendon College and former second in

³²⁹ James Becket, “The tortures of living under the Greek colonels,” *Globe and Mail*, August 16, 1968.

command in the Department of External Affairs when it was led by Lester Pearson (who served as Prime Minister from 1963 to 1968). It was during the years, 1947 to 1949, that the foundational premises of NATO were conceived and brought to fruition. Writing in the *Toronto Telegram*, Reid pointed out that Article Two of the North Atlantic Treaty expressly sought to develop peaceful international relations by strengthening the free institutions of member states.³³⁰ Reid's perspective captured the sentiment in the Canadian media when noting, "I suggest it is reasonable to assume if Greece is not prepared to carry out its obligations under Article Two of the North Atlantic Treaty to strengthen its free institutions, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law, many of the allies in NATO would be apt to take this into account in deciding on the nature and extent of the assistance which they would give Greece if it were attacked."³³¹

Similar to many organizations cited earlier, the media covered the Athens Polytechnic University uprising. For many Canadians, the event was emblematic of how authoritarianism could be used to crush the freedoms that were an indivisible part of democracy.

The Canadian media addressed the Polytechnic issue in two important ways. The first was factual reporting. Details of the events in Athens were reported while there was speculation that in some cases two and in others 150 protestors had been killed by the Greek state. Also of note, was the size of the protesting crowd, which most mainstream media outlets reported at between 2,000 and 15,000 individuals. The real number of those present was important because it became politicized. Inflated numbers conveyed an image of violent tyranny in the face of

³³⁰ Escott Reid, "What NATO role for Greece," *Toronto Telegram* (date unknown).

³³¹ *Ibid*

popular will. In an environment of general condemnation of the event, the Canadian media became a platform for sympathizers to inflate popular participation levels. Andreas Papandreou, for example, reported widespread participation in the protest. In the Canadian media, Papandreou sought to discredit his political opponents in Greece and vindicate those who stood against tyranny. He argued that the student revolt actually transcended the Athens campus and had created links with the city's population at large. In a *Toronto Star* article, he wrote,

By late Friday afternoon, Nov. 16, more than 50,000 workers and citizens of Athens had poured onto the streets and were in active battle with the police...Doctors volunteered their services to the wounded. Families carried in food and water to the students. Spontaneous demonstrations sprang up in all corners of Athens...The policy and the game plan from Washington had failed because a people made a decision to die for their liberty. Hundreds have been killed, far beyond the paltry numbers officially announced by the regime. Greece is now at an impasse. The present structure of power cannot hold. In Greece, the fight for national liberation and self-determination will continue.³³²

Papandreou suggested, along with other media sources, that mass participation in the movement beginning with the Polytechnic was merely the beginning of the process that would lead the people of Greece to realize their democratic impulse.

Opinion pieces were the second kind of reporting on the Polytechnic uprising. This, far more than anything else, was telling of how newspaper editorial staffs and Canadians in general felt towards the student movement. In a few cases, critics scolded the recalcitrant protestors. For example, one commentator wrote in to *The Globe and Mail*;

If you're a typical Canadian or British or American "liberal", you're no doubt very angry at the Greek Government for the way it sent troops and tanks and tear gas against the 2,000 rioting students who seized control of the Athens Polytechnic Institute. You would not, of course, go there and actually take part in

³³² "Papadopoulos ousted because he'd lost control – Papandreou," *The Toronto Star*, December 27, 1973.

the students' struggle against the colonels: too much trouble and expense, besides you might get hurt. But by golly, you'll put your name to a resolution or attend – at 4,000 miles distance – a protest rally. For my own part, I think the Greek authorities simply did what they had to do. If rioting students seized control of a Canadian or American college, I would expect the appropriate authorities to flush them out, even if that took troops and tanks. The only way any authority can remain authoritative is by ruthlessly putting down any organized challenge to it. They know this in Europe, where for centuries riots, revolutions and all such have had to be squelched...Power, as Simone Weil has said, is the ability to transform a human being into a corpse, or, at any rate, to make him very cautious about defying you. Lenin understood power, summed up every political question in one sentence, "Who has the machine guns?" To have and hold power, to keep your citizens in a state of peace and order, you must be pretty damn tough, otherwise, the mobs gather, the criminals run wild, and your power flies out the window. How and Why did the Americans, Canadians, British get so soft – and so soft in the head?"³³³

However, this type of message was not dominant. In most cases, Canadians writing into papers expressed sympathy and collective solidarity with the students. Another Canadian wrote into *The Globe and Mail*;

The gallant sacrifice of the Athenian students has exposed the sham of the Greek elections held earlier this year, and the pretence of the return by Greece to constitutional civilian government. It should also trouble Canadian consciences. Unlike Chile, Greece is Canada's partner in an organization that we have championed as something much more than a mere military alliance. Article II of the North Atlantic Treaty, the Canadian article, commits the allies to take democratic values seriously. Is there any evidence that our representatives have supported the Scandinavian efforts to ensure that NATO's influence is employed to accelerate the return of civilized, democratic conditions to Greek people? Under these circumstances, quiet diplomacy is not enough.³³⁴

Similar calls were made for Canada to provide political and other assistance to the students. A Greek research scientist with the Canadian Agriculture Department received a plea for medical supplies from his sister in Greece. The scientist wrote of students killed in street

³³³ Richard J. Needham, "Authorities without authority," *The Globe and Mail*, November 20, 1973. Also, see "Response to a revolt" *The Globe and Mail*, November 20, 1973.

³³⁴ Peyton V. Lyon, "Greece," *The Globe and Mail*, November 23, 1973.

fighting while the wounded were left lying on the ground. Doctors and ambulances were denied permission to help them. He believed that his conversation with his sister had been recorded by the Greek state but, “When you see hundreds of young students being shot, you don’t care what happens.”³³⁵

Conclusion

The way the Canadian media covered Greece’s military dictatorship reflected an era where social, economic, and political power came under unprecedented scrutiny from a variety of social actors including students, academics, and politicians. Simply put, masses of people readily challenged normative thinking and behaviour. One of the most challenged spaces of power was the application of state force. In this vein, the suspension of democracy in Greece and the rise to power of an authoritarian regime brought the small Mediterranean nation into a spotlight. The re-imagining by Canadians of their social, economic, and political lives merged neatly with a movement by Greek immigrants (see Chapter Four), which created a new paradigm for historians of immigration to understand. The many instances of solidarity outlined in this chapter demonstrate that the narrative of the “typical” Greek immigrant experience is not universal.

Shaped, to a great extent, by Marxism, and a desire to influence entrenched systems of power, many individuals, organizations, and mainstream actors spoke out against Greece’s government. The desire to shape politics in Greece by non-Greek social actors was most notably taken up in the public sphere by politicians. As the Cold War presented a world with two

³³⁵ Mary Anne Weaver, “Athens an armed camp but resistance goes on,” *The Toronto Star*, November 19, 1973.

extremes, political actors used their influence to shape the politics of a distant nation-state. In their efforts to push Greece towards democratic institutions, politicians used a widespread belief in the virtue of this form of governance to launch political change in Greece. Beyond the traditional and expected forms of politicking, various government representatives in Canada engaged in direct action and solidarity campaigns. Their most central desire was to end arbitrary applications of state-power. Many of the individuals in these campaigns came from a background of involvement in other campaigns related to social justice.

Academics were another group who sought to shape a resistance against state tyranny in Greece. The response of these social actors to, first, the imprisonment of Andreas Papandreou, and second, the emerging knowledge of sanctioned torture impelled many to action. Through various means of information exchange, this group influenced the public audience and contributed to the popular narrative that Greece's military junta was an oppressor of democratic will. Popular organizations followed suit, both in their criticism of the junta, but also in their activism against it.

The historical narratives related to Canada's 1960s generation and immigrants have rarely intersected in existing literature. However, as this chapter has shown, solidarity, activism, and perceptions of Greece's military dictatorship were certainly influenced by a spirit of social activism that became widely pervasive in the 1960s. The temporal boundaries of this decade are loose, as other historians have shown. It is clear that simultaneously occurring movements helped to mobilize and inform Canadians about unjust power structures similar to movements

such as women's emancipation, anti-Vietnam, and various student protests. In their attempts to influence Greece, Canadians saw an opportunity to shape the world around them.

CHAPTER THREE

TRANSNATIONAL RESISTANCE NARRATIVES: LEFTIST GREEK LANGUAGE PRESS IN MONTREAL AND TORONTO

“The Junta’s snitches have reached Canada”³³⁶

“Discussions in Greek cafés are occurring with great caution!”³³⁷

In 1967, Montreal’s weekly Greek language newspaper *The Hellenic Postman* (Ελληνικός Ταχυδρόμος), warned Greeks in the city that their activities were being reported to the military dictatorship in Athens. The words, crafted with purposeful caution, told ordinary Greeks of the heavy-handed and fascist elements of the junta. The theme would become a dominant one in the publication and in similar Toronto-based newspapers. The message that the Greek state’s tentacles had reached as far as Canada would reverberate throughout Greek communities, families, and minds in Canada and was significant for two reasons. First, it allowed for opponents of the Greek state to disseminate anti-junta messages to Greeks outside of the country’s borders. But unlike Greece, this was also done quite openly, without fear of punitive state force and without the organization of a full-fledged underground movement. Second, the message that Greek surveillance stretched to Canada allowed for some continuance of Greek authority over the minds and consciousness of its emigrants. The focus of Greek language newspapers on the Greek state, the fear of possible Greek surveillance, and the fact that this all occurred in Canadian cities underlines this chapter’s main argument: that Greek language

³³⁶ “The Junta’s Snitches Have Reached Canada,” *Hellenic Postman*, June 1, 1967, pg. 1.

³³⁷ “Discussions in Greek Cafe’s are Occurring with Much Caution,” *Hellenic Postman*, May 18, 1967, pg. 8.

resistance newspapers were an important symbol of the de-territorialized borders of the Greek nation-state. In the narratives that filled the black and white pages of newspapers, emotions and intellectual exchange accompanied the importing of Greek politics into Canada.

Typically, ethnic media is thought of as a benign instrument of dissemination of news in immigrants' mother tongue and in some instances, a venue to serve ethnic commercial interests. But in this case, there existed a political discourse actively seeking to shape the world around it, not simply report on it. Most importantly, the news outlets analyzed in this chapter acted as an alternative discourse to news from the Greek state, but also from pro- and neutral-junta elements in Canadian cities.³³⁸ As mentioned above, *The Hellenic Postman* was the dominant print medium through which this was done. Its editor, Christos Kolyvas, was also a prominent writer for the publication and an important figure in the anti-junta movement in Montreal. Revelations – or perhaps accusations – like those that open this chapter, made *The Hellenic Postman* a widely known newspaper for those who wished to gain insight into how junta critiques manifested themselves in the Canadian context. In addition to the *Hellenic Postman*, the *Greek Canadian Tribune* (Ελληνοκαναδικό Βήμα) was another anti-junta paper in Montreal. According to the *Hellenic Postman*, its own circulation reached approximately 10,000 weekly newspapers while the *Greek Canadian Tribune's* circulation was approximately 3,000.³³⁹ The newspapers founders were George Papadakis and Nikos Kalimvitis.³⁴⁰ In Toronto, a series of events led to the

³³⁸ For a theoretical approach to the reactive and proactive qualities of ethnic and aboriginal media in Canada, see, Augie Fleras, "Ethnic and Aboriginal Media in Canada: Crossing Borders, Constructing Buffers, Creating Bonds, Building Bridges," in *Media – Migration – Integration: European and North American Perspectives*, ed. Rainer Geissler and Horst Pöttker, 143 – 179. (New Brunswick, U.S.A.: Transaction Publishers, 2009).

³³⁹ *Hellenic Postman*, August 24, 1967.

³⁴⁰ A brief history of the *Greek Canadian Tribune* can be found on the newspaper's website, www.bhma.net. Visited March 1, 2016.

establishment of three anti-junta Greek language newspapers. Each of these publications operated at different times, but were run by an overlapping core of individuals, primarily Nikos Skoulas, Pavlos Astritis, Petros Belegris, and Pericles Economidis.³⁴¹ The original leftist newspaper *New Times* (*Νέοι Καιροί*) was followed by *New World* (*Νέος Κόσμος*) and then *PAK News*³⁴². Despite the chorus of voices that appeared in anti-junta print media in Toronto and Montreal, there existed a dominant underlying theme. In essence, each wished to extend the reach of Greek political discourse to Canadian cities and simultaneously convey a resistance narrative opposed to the authoritarian government in Greece.

Leftist Greek language newspapers in Toronto and Montreal during the period 1967 to 1974 sought to forge a space that expressed an imagined commonality³⁴³ critical of the Greek state. The mediation of politics, through print media, brought both the real and abstract elements of political discourse into the consciousness of everyday readers, the immigrants seeking information from their homeland. As Olga Bailey et al. argue, “Imagination, through mediation, turns abstractions and ideologies of identity and community into familiar, intimate and sensual references.”³⁴⁴ In the resistance narrative promoted by Greek language leftist newspapers, the editors and authors sought to shape both the national and transnational imagination of Greek

³⁴¹ The three newspapers, *New Times*, *New World*, and *PAK News* appeared in subsequent order. More information on the main actors involved in each publication can be found later in the chapter.

³⁴² For more on *PAK News*, see Chapter One. While the weekly publication in both Greek and English could have fit the narrative of this chapter, it is a reflection of Andreas Papandreou’s work to unite the Left outside of Greece and is therefore more fitting in the previous chapter.

³⁴³ The term “imagined commonality” was adopted as a layer of analysis for this chapter after encountering it in Olga G. Bailey, Myria Georgiou, and Ramaswami Harindranath, eds., *Transnational Lives and the Media: Re-Imagining Diaspora* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3.

³⁴⁴ Olga G. Bailey, Myria Georgiou, and Ramaswami Harindranath, eds., *Transnational Lives and the Media: Re-Imagining Diaspora* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 3. Note: Authors have included a citation to Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. (London: Verso, 1983).

immigrants in Canada. In writing about the junta's human rights atrocities, democratic deficit, muzzling of free speech, and many other oppressive measures, leftist newspapers actively constructed an imagined homeland.

The anti-junta narrative reflected political continuity for Greek migrants living in Toronto and Montreal. For this reason, it had implications for Greece and Greeks in Canada.³⁴⁵ The authors challenged perceptions of nationhood, identity, and belonging. As Myria Georgiou argues: "Communication across territories and even more, communication at specific locations, has always been a process tightly interlinked with the construction of identities and communities."³⁴⁶ The dissemination of news through newspapers, prior to the ubiquitous presence of the internet, was one important form of shaping identity for Greek migrants. Georgiou adds that, "Media as means/technologies/contexts for communication in specific locations and beyond, have become institutions and organized mechanisms of great significance for constructing identities in local, national and transnational contexts".³⁴⁷ The desire to contest and negotiate Greek identity through print media was particularly pertinent in Toronto given that the publications covered in this chapter owed their existence to the Greek dictatorship.

In Montreal, the rise of the military dictatorship offered Christos Kolyvas and *The Hellenic Postman* a new opportunity to analyse Greece's political landscape. Well before the

³⁴⁵ For an instructive piece on the endurance of political transnationalism, particularly for Greek-Cypriots in New York and London, see, Myria Georgiou, *Diaspora, Identity and the Media: Diasporic Transnationalism and Mediated Spatialities*. (Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press, Inc., 2006), 143.

³⁴⁶ Georgiou, *Diaspora, Identity and the Media*, 11.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid*, pg. 11

coup however, Kolyvas's newspaper provided news from the homeland for Greek immigrants in the city. His analysis and perspective on Greek events were often political and undoubtedly leftist. In fact, Kolyvas's political bent made him a target of RCMP surveillance and in the mid-1960s, he was one of the most well-known Greek immigrants in Montreal.³⁴⁸ As early as 1965, Kolyvas appeared in police files because he organized leftist political events in Montreal.³⁴⁹ Most notable to the RCMP was Kolyvas's work in establishing a Greek arm of the NDP in the Montreal-Cartier riding, which Kolyvas and his brother-in-law created as a front organization for the Lambrakides, a youth arm of the organization that had been named after murdered Left-wing MP Grigoris Lambrakis. The attempt was unsuccessful, but it brought Kolyvas some unwanted attention from the Canadian state. Whether the Greek immigrant was aware of this surveillance is not known. In any event, it did not deter his damning weekly assault on Greece's dictatorship.

Kolyvas's campaign was also supplemented by the *Greek Canadian Tribune*. Although it was equally critical of the situation in Greece, its writers and editors were not targets of surveillance as Kolyvas was.³⁵⁰ Nevertheless, Canadian government officials kept tabs on what was being said in the publication. While particular individuals may not have been targeted, the paper's content was certainly of interest to the Canadian government. There does not appear to be any direct connection between the two papers, although there was undoubtedly some level of solidarity in the opinions expressed.

³⁴⁸ For more on the surveillance of Christos Kolyvas, see Chapter Four.

³⁴⁹ Library and Archives Canada, RG 146 A 2011 – 00137, Stack 1, Greek Subversive Activities, "Greek Canadian Tribune, Ellinokanadikon Vima, Montreal, Que." November 20, 1965.

³⁵⁰ The *Greek Canadian Tribune* in Montreal has not been digitized so access to the original publication was not possible. Fortunately, I was able to find translated pieces from the paper spread through government files located at Library and Archives Canada. The record is incomplete, but it is still a rich resource that demonstrates the paper's resistance to the junta and solidarity of opinion with others like the *Hellenic Postman*.

In Toronto, the main Greek language leftist publication during the start of the dictatorship was *New Times (Néoi Kairoi)*.³⁵¹ While the exact dates of its existence are not known, the paper ceased its operation in late-1967. It is curious that regular contributors to *New Times*, Nikos Skoulas, Pavlos Astritis, and Petros Belegris broke away from the publication to form *New World*, which ran its first issue on 12 August 1967.³⁵² While any rift between the two publications does not seem apparent, evidence suggests that Skoulas and Astritis wanted a paper centered on politics. *New World*'s sub-heading, for example, read "Weekly Democratic Newspaper," connoting a political slant. Furthermore, Skoulas was a central figure in anti-dictatorship activity in Toronto. He was as an active member of the Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece (CRDG) and subsequently became one of Andreas Papandreou's closest confidantes as PAK Executive Secretary for Canada.³⁵³

Immediately following the coup d'état, leftist Greek language newspapers began to craft a narrative of shared political duty between Greeks in Toronto, Montreal, and those who found themselves under a tyrannical regime. In the second edition following the coup, the *Hellenic Postman* ran a story in bold type font titled, "Our Debt".³⁵⁴ The article argued that Greeks everywhere had an obligation to respond to one of the highest callings; the struggle for democracy. It was time, argued the paper, for every honest Greek to take an anti-fascist stance –

³⁵¹ The paper's office was located at 393 Danforth Avenue, Toronto, Ontario. Offices were then changed to 62 Richmond Street West, Toronto, Ontario.

³⁵² I do not have this paper, but I was able to find a brief translation of some articles in Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 Vol 25, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Non- Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada, "Neos Kosmos" Toronto, August 12, 1967,

³⁵³ For more on this relationship and a closer examination of these anti-dictatorship organizations, see Chapter 1.

³⁵⁴ "Our Debt," *Hellenic Postman*, May 4, 1967.

for himself, for his family, for the entire nation (Greece), and for the foundational principles of democracy. The impassioned plea also contended that Greeks living in places with political rights and freedom had the responsibility to fight the tyranny of the junta. Particularly since those living in Greece and advocating for democracy were being thrown in jail and concentration camps. Thus, concluded the article, “the issue is not political, it is national.”³⁵⁵ The call for the mobilization of efforts outside of Greece was supported by the *Greek Canadian Tribune*. The entire front page of the publication’s 29 April 1967 issue was an editorial under the heading, “Hypocrisies and Lies.” The author strongly opposed the developments in Greece and put out a call for Greeks in both Canada and the USA to help people in Greece.³⁵⁶

Writing in the *New Times*, Pavlos Astritis echoed his compatriots from Montreal. Speaking about the “debt to democracy”, the author argued that Greeks in Toronto had an obligation to assist the nation of their birth.³⁵⁷ He argued that social justice and equity could only be achieved through democracy. In Greece, the citizenry now lived under the “law of force,” where dissent was outlawed.³⁵⁸ Similarly, the first issue of *New World* on 12 August 1967 asked its readers to look back to the homeland. It pleaded, “we must give our aid to the fullest and as soon as we can...any sacrifice will be small no matter how great [it] may be.”³⁵⁹ The blurring of Greece’s national boundaries and the call for Greeks in Canada to resist the junta, was one of the

³⁵⁵ Ibid

³⁵⁶ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 Vol 25, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Non- Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada, “Summary of Material From Ellinokanadikon Vima”, April 29, 1967.

³⁵⁷ Pavlos Astritis, “Debt to Democracy,” *New Times*, June 8, 1967.

³⁵⁸ Ibid

³⁵⁹ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 Vol 25, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Non- Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada, “Neos Kosmos” Toronto, August 12, 1967.

earliest forms of Montreal and Toronto's Greek language left press re-imagining its local boundaries and positioning the city as a de-territorialized space of resistance.

Canadian political space and the call to take advantage of freedoms in the country was a popular theme extolled in the leftist media. Following the Greek coup, the first edition of *New Times* printed a long article written by Nikos Skoulas. The piece appeared in both Greek and English under the heading, "Advice to a King: An open letter to King Constantine".³⁶⁰ Skoulas pleaded with the Greek monarch to revoke his support from the military dictatorship, writing, "King Constantine, there may still be time. In the name of Greece we urge you to make the supreme sacrifice, for your people. Retreat. Let the country return to democratic normality through free elections."³⁶¹ While Skoulas eloquently crafted an argument against the new political regime in Greece, he did so by paying homage to the space that allowed him to do so. In fact, Skoulas used the first two paragraphs of his letter to communicate a special importance of Canada and the distress that Greek immigrants in the country were clearly feeling. As Skoulas wrote, "In an effort to convey to you some of my thoughts which are also the thoughts of thousands of Greek immigrants, I took the liberty of writing to you. Of course, this is only a manner of speaking because I did not take the liberty, I have it. You see, my lord, hear [*sic*] in Canada, functions the ancient type of Greek democracy and there is absolute freedom".³⁶² The paper also printed an impassioned speech by Pericles Economides, a prominent member of the Committee for Restoration of Democracy in Greece, from a demonstration in front of Toronto's City Hall in April 1967. Economides also argued that the Greeks of Canada were lucky enough

³⁶⁰ Nikos Skoulas, "Advice to a King," *New Times*, April 27, 1967, pg. 1.

³⁶¹ *Ibid*

³⁶² *Ibid*

to have evaded “the veil of horror and violence” and therefore in a position to show that the “Greek people were not composed of slaves.”³⁶³

Canada was important for resistance publications because it provided a space for free, unfiltered, and recalcitrant reporting on Greece’s dictatorship and political events; albeit from a distance. The language was oftentimes harsh and combative. Its ability to be that way without facing jail or torture was due exclusively to Canada’s freedom of press and speech. In the *Hellenic Postman*, for example, issues like the 1973 National Referendum that proposed constitutional amendments to abolish the monarchy were reported on in ways that would have been unfathomable in Greece. While an article specific to the national plebiscite outlined that the international community was divided on the question of recognizing the vote to be held in July 1973, another article on the same page accused Greece’s ruler, Colonel Papadopoulos, of being the “American Colonel”.³⁶⁴ The paper also hit the regime with the accusation that it was “Made in the U.S.A.” and that it had been “Decided upon by the C.I.A.”³⁶⁵

This narrative attempted to diminish the significance of Greece’s sovereign boundaries and bring the struggle for democracy into the hands of migrants in Canada. Freedom of thought, association, speech, and other rights afforded to nearly everyone in Canada was highlighted as a common thread in both Toronto and Montreal. However, there were differences in how Canadian values were used by the Greek leftist press in each Canadian city. In the *Hellenic Postman*,

³⁶³ “The Inspired Word of Pericles Economides,” *New Times*, May 4, 1967, pg. 1.

³⁶⁴ *Hellenic Postman*, June 21, 1973.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid*

Kolyvas argued that “Greeks abroad fully recognize that they represent the only remaining piece of freedom in the nation, and they have a sacred duty to restore freedom and democracy in the fatherland.”³⁶⁶ In the same article, Kolyvas vilified those who supported the junta, arguing that its tentacles had reached Greek communities everywhere. Kolyvas added that anti-junta activities needed to be understood within a historical context dating back to 1821; the birth of Greece’s independence struggle. Even Greece’s most glorified heroes of the War of Independence, like Theodoros Kolokotronis and Ioannis Makrygiannis, he argued, were charged with being traitors at one point because they opposed foreign interests.³⁶⁷ Kolyvas sought to empower his compatriots to liken themselves to Greece’s most celebrated heroes. Undoubtedly, the author did so with the intention of resisting the conflation of anti-junta opinions and derogatory or dangerous leftist labels. In the broader context of the Cold War, Kolyvas knew that anti-junta perspectives could easily lead to the branding of someone as a communist.

As it related to communist branding, Nikos Skoulas, argued that there were four different types of Greeks in Toronto.³⁶⁸ The first were the Greeks that heard of the political crisis in their homeland and responded publicly through protest and other means. Second, were those who publicly supported the dictatorship. Third, were Greeks without an opinion. Finally, there existed the snails. This group of Greeks had anti-junta feelings, but would never say so publicly for fear of some monetary repercussions. The snails also wanted to participate in public rallies, were afraid of communism to which Skoulas coyly asked, “Where? Here in Canada? Shame!”³⁶⁹

³⁶⁶ Christos Kolyvas, “The Diaspora and the Coup,” *Hellenic Postman*, June 15, 1967, pg. 1.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid*

³⁶⁸ Nikos Skoulas, “The Snails,” *New Times*, May 11, 1967.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid*

Essentially, the snails were those who knew of the danger posed by Greece's dictatorship, but chose to retreat and stay hidden from a fight.

Petros Belegris also expressed deep frustration with Greeks in Toronto, asking them to stop ignoring Greece and the political repression taking place there. In his front page article, titled, "to the compatriots", Belegris wrote of the profound absurdity he saw in Greek immigrant organizational and associational life. Like Skoulas, Belegris was simultaneously shocked and angered by apathy towards atrocities occurring in Greece. The article specifically targeted Greek immigrants who had come to concern themselves with building regional, educational, philanthropic, or religious organizations in Toronto, but never turned their attention to the restoration of democracy in Greece. Belegris called for more unity on this subject. "History has vomited," he argued. Who would be bold enough to take a stand concerning the news coming from Greece, particularly reports from Amnesty International whose conclusions objectively showed that torture was a problem in Greece? Belegris wrote: "We the Greeks do not have duty. We only have shame! Shame and complicity in the atrocities. Because, we are all complicit."³⁷⁰ The author sought to mobilize his seemingly indifferent compatriots.

In the same media outlets, rumours flew that Greece was recruiting pro-junta migrants or sending its own agents to spy on Greeks. Such suspicions may have been true since the junta convicted Greeks abroad of anti-state rhetoric. In some instances, migrants received sentences of over ten years in jail. The *Hellenic Postman* and the *Greek Canadian Tribune* openly accused the

³⁷⁰ Petros Belegris, *New World*, February 29, 1968

military dictatorship of illegal surveillance and immoral intimidation. In the run-up to Expo '67, for example, a writer in the *Hellenic Postman* reported that officers of the Greek army had been sent to Montreal to guard the Greek pavilion.³⁷¹ The writer also attacked the same agents for visiting Greek restaurants, cafés, etc, to engage in political activities. The article asked the Director of the Greek pavilion to ensure that: 1. The officers behave in a correct manner; 2. they do not so evidently carry weapons; 3. they stop engaging in political dialogues in Greek public places; 4. they do not engage in discussions about communist ideology.³⁷² The *Greek Canadian Tribune* also condemned surveillance of Greeks in Canada. The paper accused the Greek Embassy in Ottawa of sending a state agent known as “Commando Major Lianas, The Greek Junta’s Super-Ambassador to Canada,” in order to mobilize favourable pro-junta associations.³⁷³ The publication accused him of threatening Greeks in various Canadian cities and preparing “personal records”.³⁷⁴ It hinted that he was on the payroll of KYP (Εθνική Υπηρεσία Πληροφοριών), Greece’s national intelligence service. For each of these reasons, Lianas was dubbed the real ambassador of the military dictatorship to Canada.

Resisting the surveillance did not generate the same level of accusation and suspicion in Toronto, but it was certainly present. Petros Belegris noted that technology had evolved in such amazing ways that “Even walls have ears.”³⁷⁵ He informed readers that the KYP had invented machines with incredible capabilities to listen in on conversations. The Greek language press in

³⁷¹ “For the Director of the Greek Pavilion at Expo 67”, *Hellenic Postman*, June 22, 1967, pg. 1.

³⁷² *Ibid*

³⁷³ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25, Vol 10112, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Non – Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, “Department of the Secretary of State: Canadian Citizenship Branch – Foreign Language Press Review Service – Ellinokanadikon Vima,” Montreal, March 30, 1968.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid*

³⁷⁵ Petros Belegris, “Crying Out,” *New World*, November 3, 1967.

Toronto also focused on the consulate. In an opinion piece titled “The Gospel of National Disunity”, Nikos Skoulas chastised the Consul General for remarks that he had made at St. Demetrios Church on the topic of Greece’s *OXI* Day.³⁷⁶ For Greeks, *OXI* continues to be one of the most widely publicly commemorated events, marking the day (28 October 1940) when Greece’s dictator Ioannis Metaxas said “*OXI* (No)” to the ultimatum of Italian leader Benito Mussolini. The Italian side had presented Greece with two options; either allow Italian military forces to occupy strategic positions in Greece, or, face war.

Skoulas believed that the Consul General had misinterpreted *OXI* and Greece’s subsequent historical events. Despite having a role in the Greek Civil War, Skoulas noted that communists deserved some recognition for their resistance efforts against conquerors during the Second World War. Additionally, Skoulas pointed out, while it was understandable for the representative of the Greek state to hold such views, it was inappropriate for him to express them publicly inside the church. Skoulas however, praised the priest for bringing order back to the event. Most importantly Skoulas accused the Consul General of dividing Greeks into two camps; good Greeks and enemies of Greece (those circulating communist pamphlets). Skoulas took issue with the Consul’s perspective and asked the Consul General to name the individuals involved. Skoulas argued that there needed to be one Greek community in Toronto, marked by unity, strength, and progressiveness. Both the words and actions of Skoulas and the Consulate blurred boundaries between Greece and Canada.

³⁷⁶ Nikos Skoulas, “Gospel of National Divisions,” *New World*, November 3, 1967.

The *Hellenic Postman* published a detailed article by Jean Meynaud, Professor of Political Science at the University of Montreal and commentator on the politics of Greece.³⁷⁷ Before his death in 1972, he was also a prominent critic of authoritarianism in Greece and the junta's clampdown on civil rights.³⁷⁸ Meynaud charged the Greek state with unlawful surveillance of its emigrants in Montreal and urged Greeks to unite against this form of tyranny.³⁷⁹ The article also exposed what Meynaud argued was a twofold plan designed to, first, thwart a resistance movement in Greek communities abroad, and second, to amplify the surveillance of pro-democrats in the same communities.³⁸⁰ As Meynaud wrote, "Greeks abroad, especially the Greeks of Canada, need to recognize and never forget that the activities of the Junta's police did not stop at the borders of the fatherland."³⁸¹ Additionally, the author provided readers with the assurance that only Canadian police had the authority to perform surveillance on anyone in Canada. Meynaud also encouraged Greeks to report the spying activities of the Greek state to Canadian authorities so that the illegal practice could be stopped. This thoughtful assessment by Meynaud was undoubtedly a response to the fear among Greeks of Montreal of reprisals for speaking out against the junta in Greece.

Additionally, the Greek language leftist press argued that the freedom to be politically active against a government was something to be cherished. In an anniversary edition of the *Hellenic Postman*, for example, a reader wrote to the paper to praise it for offering a space where

³⁷⁷ Jean Meynaud with P. Merlopoulos and G. Notaras, *Les Forces Politiques En Grèce*. (Lausanne: Études de science politique, no. 10, 1965).

³⁷⁸ Jean Meynaud, *La dictature grecque a cinq ans*. (Montreal: Editions Nouvelle frontiere, 1972).

³⁷⁹ Jean Meynaud, "Caution to the Agents of the Dictatorship," *Hellenic Postman*, June 15, 1967, pg. 1.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid*, pg. 1 and pg. 3

³⁸¹ *Ibid*, pg. 3

Greeks could express their ideas freely.³⁸² Canadian values and law were also used to buoy those experiencing or feeling intimidation for their anti-junta position. In September 1968, for example, the *Hellenic Postman* chronicled an altercation that occurred during a celebration of the anniversary of Greece's first constitution of 1844. The article reported that well-known persons attacked the pro-democratic Greeks who had gathered to celebrate peacefully. More importantly, the *Hellenic Postman* pleaded for help from Canadian authorities; asking that fascists who continuously cause disturbances be deported.³⁸³ The *Greek Canadian Tribune* published similar calls. The paper even issued a warning to the Greek Consulate in Montreal and Greek Embassy in Ottawa that it would protest to the appropriate Canadian authorities if Greeks visiting their homeland were arrested for political activities in Canada.³⁸⁴

In a column titled, "Dangerous People," Christos Kolyvas likened his political adversaries to creatures from the underworld, arguing that their presence in Montreal made them a danger to Canada.³⁸⁵ The newspaper reported that representatives of the junta attacked their political rivals with pepper spray and beat them. Among those who were attacked was a McGill professor.³⁸⁶ In a statement signed by various pro-democracy groups in Montreal, the incident was condemned: "the agents of the junta took orders from the Greek Consulate in Montreal to

³⁸² Library and Archives Canada, RG 25, Vol 10112, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Non – Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, Ioanna Karatjaferis, "The anniversary", "Department of the Secretary of State: Canadian Citizenship Branch – Foreign Language Press Review Service – Ellinokanadikon Vima," Montreal, October 17, 1968.

³⁸³ *Hellenic Postman*, September 12, 1968.

³⁸⁴ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25, Vol 10112, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Non – Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, "Department of the Secretary of State: Canadian Citizenship Branch – Foreign Language Press Review Service – Ellinokanadikon Vima – 'To whom it May Concern,'" Montreal, August 17, 1968.

³⁸⁵ Christos Kolyvas, "Dangerous People," *Hellenic Postman*, April 17, 1969.

³⁸⁶ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 Vol. 9363, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Political Affairs – Non – Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greeks and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, Canadian Citizenship Branch – Foreign Language Press Review Service. Clipping, *Hellenic Postman*, Montreal, April 3, 1969.

bring into Canada the medieval regime which governs Greece at the present time.”³⁸⁷ The *Greek Canadian Tribune*, denounced the activities of so-called “Shock-Troops”, which the paper argued were being organized in Canada by the Greek junta.³⁸⁸ It also reported that two members of the anti-dictatorship group, Makrygiannis, had been injured and that the matter was even being investigated by Canadian police.³⁸⁹

In addition to the above stance, the leftist Greek media in Montreal denounced the Greek Orthodox Church because of its silence on junta policies. The *Hellenic Postman* called on the Archbishop of North and South America to limit his opinions and public positions to clerical matters only.³⁹⁰ The article was in response to the Archbishop’s visit to Greece and the favourable statements that he released related to the junta. The paper spoke against the Archbishop for remarks he made against the Greeks of North America who wished to influence political change in Greece.³⁹¹ The article pointed out that it was the Archbishop who wrongfully dabbled in politics while Greek democrats were perfectly justified in their struggle against tyranny in Greece. The *Greek Canadian Tribune* accused the Archbishop of North and South America and the Archbishop of Greece of defrauding the Greek people by presenting the junta in

³⁸⁷ Ibid

³⁸⁸ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25, Vol 10112, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Non – Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, “Department of the Secretary of State: Canadian Citizenship Branch – Foreign Language Press Review Service – Ellinokanadikon Vima” Montreal, September 14, 1968.

³⁸⁹ Ibid

³⁹⁰ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25, Vol 10112, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Non – Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, “Department of the Secretary of State: Canadian Citizenship Branch – Foreign Language Press Review Service – Hellenic Postman” Montreal, November 21, 1968.

³⁹¹ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 Vol. 9363, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Political Affairs – Non – Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greeks and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, “Department of the Secretary of State: Canadian Citizenship Branch – Foreign Language Press Review Service – Hellenic Postman” Montreal, May 1, 1969.

a favourable light and supporting the “brutish jailers” of Greek people.³⁹² The *Greek Canadian Tribune* argued that the Archbishop’s activity had nothing to do with religion or education, but rather promoted the “dissemination of propaganda in favour of the military government of Greece.”³⁹³

The leftist press contended that the Church represented all Greeks and not only those of a particular political ideology. The *Hellenic Postman* took issue with a Greek Orthodox priest in Montreal who had used his pulpit to speak positively about the military dictatorship.³⁹⁴ Many people, including local councillors were angered by this politicking and calls for the priest’s resignation.³⁹⁵ A *Greek Canadian Tribune* article, titled, “Scoundrelism Taking Place in the Greek Orthodox Church in Montreal,” argued that local religious leaders ought to serve the needs of all Greek immigrants, rather than supporting the Greek Consul in Montreal and “an inhuman regime.”³⁹⁶ The paper also alleged that the Greek Orthodox Church in Montreal was a centre of censorship, intimidation, and violence. An article titled “Blood in the Church,” accused

³⁹² Library and Archives Canada, RG 25, Vol 10112, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Non – Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greek and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, “Department of the Secretary of State: Canadian Citizenship Branch – Foreign Language Press Review Service – Greek Canadian Tribune” Montreal, May 18, 1968.

³⁹³ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 Vol. 9363, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Political Affairs – Non – Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greeks and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, “Department of the Secretary of State: Canadian Citizenship Branch – Foreign Language Press Review Service – Greek Canadian Tribune” Montreal, May 2, 1969.

³⁹⁴ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 Vol. 9363, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Political Affairs – Non – Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greeks and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, “Department of the Secretary of State – *Secretariat D’État* – Ethnic Press Analysis Service – Hellenic Postman,” Montreal, August 9, 1973.

³⁹⁵ Ibid

³⁹⁶ Library and Archives Canada, RG 25 Vol. 9363, File 20 – 18 – 1 – 11, Political Affairs – Non – Party Groups – Activities of Emigre Organizations – Greeks and Greek Cypriots in Canada and Abroad, “Department of the Secretary of State: Canadian Citizenship Branch – Foreign Language Press Review Service – Greek Canadian Tribune” Montreal, April 11, 1969.

the Greek ambassador, consul, priest, Greek Community leaders, and some members of the press, of being complicit to the psychological and physical attacks on Greek democrats.

Toronto's leftist media typically used less antagonistic language towards the religious institution. *New World* argued that it was not the Church that was a problem, but leaders that uncritically professed support for a violent state regime. The paper pointed out the hypocrisy of local religious leaders who simultaneously preached the Christian message of peace, but did not speak out against the imprisonment and torture of political prisoners in Greece, most of whom were prisoners of conscience. Belegris argued that the pulpit of the Greek Orthodox Church in Toronto had been transformed into a political tool, likening the congregation to a field that sowed seeds of fascism and dictatorship.³⁹⁷ He added that the Church, which had extended open arms to believers, had been made a fool of as some used the institution to convince others of the "salvation" of Greece. But, as Belegris argued, the junta was only able to fully convince others of their political agenda with the threat of arms, opining, "it is vein [sic] to try to convince when they cannot use those arms." Pericles Economidis criticized those appointed to leading positions within the Church who were fulfilling private ambition, not their religious calling. In this environment of political nepotism, Greeks abroad were paying a heavy price. Economidis believed that the Church had committed a "national mistake" and that Greeks in North America had handed themselves over to the Greek Orthodox Church, a place of political and economic exploitation. As he put it, "The American continent, decapitated without an able leadership and organization has become easy prey to every fool or priest, stupid ambitious laymen, any religious theory, the most unlikely guides find ripe ground."

³⁹⁷ Petros Belegris, "Crying Voice," *New World*, November 3, 1967.

In an open letter, Belegris attacked Archbishop Iakovos who, in contrast to outraged religious leaders around the world, did not respond to the Amnesty International report that highlighted the torture used on Greek political prisoners. Belegris noted that the report caused an immediate reaction and uproar by many representatives of God across the world. He called on Iakovos to join the chorus of condemnation: “We hope that, from your position of power, you would quickly add your voice to these protests”.³⁹⁸ The author also asked the Archbishop to repudiate the position of the Church, which argued that the report was communist and anti-Christ. Moreover, he noted that the Amnesty International report clearly showed the horror faced by “our and your(?) brothers in Christ”. The journalist also took aim at Archbishop Iakovos for a speech he delivered in Athens where he called Greece “the most ideal of all places.” Belegris argued that the speech given by Iakovos was full of “Statements that do not convince your flock here about how angel-like your hosts are, but they may convince our poor brothers in Greece that all of us support tyranny”.

The leftist Greek media in Montreal also sought to shape public discourse as it related to prominent Greek figures, particularly those who visited Canada for special events. The visit of King Constantine to Toronto and Montreal allowed resistance newspapers to come close to a high ranking state official from Greece. The anti-dictatorship resistance turned Toronto and Montreal into a battleground of opposing political ideas. While the king held a tenuous position in Greece’s governing body following the military *coup d’état*, the occasion of his visit was used

³⁹⁸ Petros Belegis, “Second Letter to Iakovos,” *New World*, March 7, 1968.

by resistance Greek media to undermine him and the regime that he represented. In the months leading up to the visit, Greek language leftist media ran a string of articles arguing that the young monarch was complicit in the oppression of the Greek nation. The portrayal of the king as a co-conspirator with the generals that overthrew Greece's democratic government was important because it shaped (or attempted to) public perceptions of the Greek regime. That many Greeks supported the monarch's position in Greek political life should not be surprising. Many of Canada's Greek immigrants had come from provinces that historically supported the monarchy. This did not necessarily mean that they were pro-junta. For this reason, the *Hellenic Postman* sought to frame Constantine's Montreal stay in two ways; First, that he was a representation of a brutal oppressive regime, and second, suggesting that his support for the junta could be revoked.

Immediately preceding the visit to Montreal, the *Hellenic Postman* predicted that the king was not going to be warmly received by Greeks, citing a very brief note written in the French-language daily *La Presse* that highlighted the protests planned in New York and Toronto.³⁹⁹ The paper noted that one event would even be attended by the Confederation of Trade Unions.⁴⁰⁰ Designed to display popular antagonism against the Greek government, it was also a statement that Canada should not be receiving and celebrating a representative of a tyrannical regime. The most telling example of the *Hellenic Postman*'s wish to shape the narrative around King Constantine's visit, was the paper's 31 August 1967 edition. The entire issue dealt with King Constantine's visit. The front page appeared in English and French and scarcely any Greek. Under the heading, "*Les Grecs du Canada ainsi que tout Canadien rejettent les dictateurs meme*

³⁹⁹ "King Constantine Will Not Be Warmly Received by the Greeks of Montreal," *Hellenic Postman*, August 24, 1967, pg. 1 and pg. 2.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid*

s'ils sont déguisés en rois – Greeks and Canadians Reject Dictator in ‘King’s’ Clothing,” the paper included a caricature of King Constantine in martial arts garb, karate chopping blocks of ancient marble that read “Constitution of the Greek People” and “Human Rights”.⁴⁰¹ The monarchical moniker was also parodied, with a Nazi swastika in its centre. The publication’s main point was that, “Greeks and Canadians from all walks of life...express their astonishment at the Canadian Government’s failure to cancel its official invitation, given before the coup d’état of April 21, in view of the fact that Constantine, by signing the decree abolishing the Greek Constitution, nullified the legitimacy of his throne.”⁴⁰² Indicative of its efforts to reach out to non-Greeks was the fact that much of the rest of the paper was also produced in more widely accessible English.⁴⁰³

In Toronto, critics of Constantine used less imagery in their publications and focused on downplaying the king’s position through argument and emotion. In the days leading up to the state visit, the *New Times* published an article titled, “If You Come, Your Majesty.” While respectful in tone, it contended that, “there was a time when Greeks abroad, as an entire social body, would have opened their arms to receive you, because then, you were the King of Greeks. All Greeks. But now things have changed.”⁴⁰⁴ The author wrote of the respect that many once had for the royal coat of arms and apologized for having to use the vulgar expression in referring to the king’s position in Greek political life: “your screwed (την πατήσατε),” he argued.⁴⁰⁵ Despite

⁴⁰¹ *Hellenic Postman*, August 31, 1967.

⁴⁰² *Ibid*

⁴⁰³ In this issue, there appeared 16 articles in English, 11 in Greek, and 2 in French.

⁴⁰⁴ “If You Come, Your Majesty,” *New Times*, August 17, 1967, pg. 1.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ibid*

the fact that many Greek immigrants once had great respect for the Greek crown, their respect had turned into “crying.” The author advised the monarch to either resign or “not to come.”

The *Hellenic Postman* followed the anti-monarchical issue of its paper with two front page stories. The first stated that protesters during King Constantine’s Montreal visit reached 10,000. This number was important because it was meant to reflect popular dissent. In contrast to other media outlets, the *Hellenic Postman* appears to have inflated the number of protestors by two. The second affirmed that the protest indicated how ninety-percent of Greeks in Montreal felt towards the king and the junta. The rest were a few “professional bums, drug addicts, gamblers, [etc]” While other newspapers reported on the large celebrations surrounding King Constantine’s participation in Expo ’67, the *Hellenic Postman* wished to shape the event’s narrative in a different way.

Other important stories appeared in the leftist media. In the struggle to shape the narrative on Greece, stories of human rights violations appeared in sensationalist captions designed to evoke emotion. Letters smuggled out of Greece’s most famous detention camp on the Island of Youra highlighted the beatings, isolation, filth, and overall poor conditions. The letter spoke of the General Security building where people were taken for interrogation.

It was there that the dentist EIH Ioanidou had all of her ribs broken and was beaten over the liver. She suffered a concussion and in this condition was transferred to Youra, and now she has been sent in this terrible condition to the

Syros hospital. The military doctor, when he saw these people, said: ‘But for God’s sake! Were they beaten up by cannibals?’⁴⁰⁶

Also, *New World* reported that the junta submitted political prisoners to systematic Hitler-style punishment including beatings, executions, electro shocking, and the removal of one woman’s bodily hair, plucked strand by strand.⁴⁰⁷ The story had initially appeared in the reputable British newspaper *The Guardian* and was written by a lawyer with sources in Greece. It was a heart-wrenching story of a how a young woman lost her baby while in custody of the Greek police.⁴⁰⁸ Furthermore, an article titled, “Brutal Torture” summarized a report by Amnesty International, which conveyed “barbarism and the degradation of humanity,”⁴⁰⁹

Conclusion

The Greek language leftist newspapers of Montreal and Toronto during the Greek dictatorship were much more than factual news to immigrants. Their pages tried to shape the narrative of contemporary events. In Canada, the freedom to openly criticize the Greek government allowed for the emergence of a space where a counter-narrative was constructed to the military dictatorship and those who supported it. *Hellenic Postman* and *Hellenic Tribune* in Montreal, and *New Times* and *New World* in Toronto openly condemned Greece’s military dictatorship as fascist, inhumane, intolerant, anti-democratic, and even anti-Greek.

The larger picture here conveys a number of important points. First, the leftist Greek language press in Montreal and Toronto were a symbol of the de-territorialized Greek state

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid

⁴⁰⁷ “How the Junta Governs – Political Prisoners in Greece Subjected to Hitler-style Torture,” *New World*, December 1, 1967, pg. 1.

⁴⁰⁸ “Former Political Prisoner of the Junta Speaks About Torture,” *New World*, August 7, 1969, pg. 1 and pg. 8.

⁴⁰⁹ Petros Belegris, “To the Expats,” *New World*, February 29, 1968.

whose borders were contested and negotiated in Greek migrant spaces. This contestation pitted many newly arrived immigrants against the Greek consular and police officials that documented and reported anti-junta activity to Athens; effectively criminalizing (in Greece) and performing surveillance on many Greek immigrants in Canada, who, in their adopted nation, had done nothing wrong. The re-framing of Greek political figures like King Constantine during his visit to Expo '67 was another example how the national narrative of Greece, enforced by state violence under the junta, was challenged in Canada.

Contrary to mainstream perceptions and ideas that immigrants in Canada are absorbed into the rhythm of capitalistic life that weaken old identities, this chapter has shown that Canada allowed for continuity of connections to immigrant homelands. This is especially true during times of crisis in the homeland. During Greece's dictatorship, political differences in Canada's Greek immigrant population became important. As the Greek leftist newspapers candidly acknowledged, Canada's social and political freedoms were an asset because they provided the ability to resist the imposition of authoritarianism in Greece. Canadian urban centers became spaces of resistance that would have been persecuted within Greece's sovereign boundaries.

But Greek Canadian space was contested terrain. As responses to the Greek Orthodox Church demonstrate, the Greek leftist press in Toronto and Montreal sought to challenge the power of the church over the political consciousness of Greek immigrants. The Greek language leftist press also sought to shape Greek Canadian space by writing about local issues. The writers of the Greek leftist press acted in defiance of local church power and dared to question the

authority and legitimacy of priests and the entire Greek Orthodox hierarchy. By focusing on a narrative of hypocrisy, the same writers illuminated the paradox of preaching peace while simultaneously supporting tyranny.

In short, the cross-border exchange that occurred on the pages of Greek leftist newspapers was a symbol that the politics of Greece had been imported to Canada.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTAINING CROSS-POLLINATION: STATE SURVEILLANCE AND THE GREEK ANTI-JUNTA RESISTANCE IN MONTRÉAL, 1967 - 1974

On 29 February 1968, the *Montreal Star* reported that a Greek activist was arrested along with a group of Quebecois nationalists. The man was suspected of being a liaison between Greeks and revolutionary nationalists. The article noted, “The Greeks are assisting the Separatists not because they are concerned with Quebec being separated from Canada but because they are dedicated to civil unrest and world revolution.”⁴¹⁰ But, while Greeks in Quebec were perceived to be working towards the overthrow of the political system, their counterparts in Toronto, often from the same geographic, socioeconomic, and political background, were viewed with far less suspicion. This chapter analyzes this dynamic and seeks to support the central contention of this doctoral thesis, that environments matter and simultaneously shape the perceptions of political movements.

In the 1960s, Toronto and Montreal began to receive Greek immigrants in unprecedented numbers. Greek immigrants brought to the geographic, social, and cultural landscape their own regional and political tastes. In essence, their country of origin shaped their outlook. This was especially true after Greece’s military dictatorship took power when many left-leaning Greek immigrants used Toronto and Montreal as spaces of resistance. These nodes of resistance took on

⁴¹⁰ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 3, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, Ottawa S.I.B., Division “A”, June 6, 1968.

different meanings for Canadian officials who grew increasingly concerned with the extent to which Greeks in Montreal were politicized. Informed by Third-Worldism and revolutionary ideology, public discourse in Montreal helped to carve out a space of resistance that was perceived by the Canadian state to be more dangerous and militant than similar Greek political activity in Toronto. Consequently, surveillance was more widespread and pervasive in the Quebec metropolis.

When large cohorts of Greek immigrants arrived in Montreal during the 1960s and 1970s, Canada was facing one of the most nationally divisive issues in its history. The morphing of French Canadian nationalism culminated in the Quiet Revolution. There is debate on when the Quiet Revolution began, however, the 1960s saw a burgeoning of French Canadian nationalism in the wake of the 1960 election victory of Jean Lesage.⁴¹¹ During its tenure, Lesage's Liberal government instilled in many Quebecois the conviction that the Quebec state had the ability and obligation to bring about change for the collective betterment of French Canadians. There was the expectation that Francophones should hold pre-eminent positions within Quebec's economy and government and that all Quebecois should have adequate access to services such as education, health, welfare, and housing.⁴¹² Political Scientist Kenneth McRoberts argues that a professional middle-class was the engine of change in Quebec.⁴¹³ Their exclusion from the highest social and economic rungs made them natural advocates of the movement driven by the

⁴¹¹ Michael Behiels, *Prelude to Quebec's Quiet Revolution: Liberalism versus Neo-Nationalism, 1945 – 1960*. (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985); Michael Gauvreau, *The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, 1931 – 1970*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005); McRoberts, *Political Crisis and Social Change* (3rd ed.).

⁴¹² Kenneth McRoberts, *Political Crisis and Social Change*, 3rd ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988).

⁴¹³ *Ibid*

well-known slogan, *Maîtres chez nous*, or, masters of our own home. According to McRoberts, some of the most important characteristics of the Quiet Revolution were secularization and increased control by the state of health, welfare, social services, education, etc., a narrowing of the boundaries of “nation” that applied only to those living in Quebec (the literal and symbolic homeland of French Canada), and the idea that the Quebec state was the primary agent of social and economic change and cultural protection.⁴¹⁴

These changes had profound implications for the province’s immigrants. In a wider reconsideration of Quebec’s most fundamental underpinnings, many in the province were engaged in determining who and what was Quebecois. Newcomers to the province along with old migrants needed to establish a relationship with the increasing social, political, and economic power of the majority Francophone population.⁴¹⁵ The crux of this negotiation was centred on demographics and linguistic integration. From 1958 to 1985, Quebec’s birth rate dropped precipitously from 28.8 to 13.1.⁴¹⁶ Allophones were also choosing to integrate with the Anglophone community in Montreal.⁴¹⁷ Continuing on this path, it was feared, would surely bring the warning of University of Montreal professor, Pierre Dumareau, to fruition. In 1952, Dumareau argued, “that the combined effect of immigration, the increased birth rate throughout English-speaking Canada, a decline in the natural increase among French-Canadian society, and the joining of Newfoundland, would reduce the percentage of French Canadians in Canada to

⁴¹⁴ Marcel Martel, *French Canada: An Account of its Creation and Break-up, 1850 – 1967*. (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1998).

⁴¹⁵ Paul-André Linteau, “The Italians of Quebec: Key Participants in Contemporary Linguistic and Political Debates,” in *Arrangiarsi: The Italian Immigration Experience in Canada*, Roberto Perin and Franc Sturino, eds., (Montreal: Guernica, 1992).

⁴¹⁶ Michael D. Behiels, “Quebec and the Question of Immigration: From Ethnocentrism to Ethnic Pluralism, 1900-1985,” (*CHA Pamphlet*, Vol. 18, 1998: 1-27), pg. 17.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid*

30.3 per cent rather than see it rise to 32.2 per cent as had been projected in the mid-1940s.”⁴¹⁸

This demographic trend if left unchecked, would lessen Francophone social, political, and economic clout in Canada and perhaps alter the fundamental principles that underscored Canada’s founding mythology.⁴¹⁹

In the context of a growing nationalism, the role that immigrants would play in the perpetuation of Quebecois culture took on new significance. If Francophones were to realize the central tenets of the Quiet Revolution, it was argued that Quebec would need to become involved in immigration and more successfully integrate immigrants within the French speaking culture of Montreal. As Martin Pâquet notes, the perception of immigrants as cultural strangers needed to give way to an economically rooted, modern, and inclusive image; one that Pâquet calls, *homo oeconomicus*.⁴²⁰ This change was reflected in a motion tabled on 3 February 1965 by Gabriel Loubier in the Legislative Assembly, which called for the “immediate” creation of an immigration ministry in Quebec. Loubier contended, “In order that immigration no longer be ‘a way for the federal government to alter the cultural make-up of Quebec,’ provincial involvement was required. Quebec’s actions should always be based on ‘economic interests’ and serve to welcome and integrate new citizens so that they could ‘preserve their legitimate differences’ and ‘contribute to Quebec life.’”⁴²¹ Even more indicative of Quebec’s new stance on immigration was the comment of the minister of Cultural Affairs, Pierre Laporte who added, “we need to take action if we want to maintain a balance between people of French culture and the others in

⁴¹⁸ Ibid, pg. 11

⁴¹⁹ See Guy Laforest, *Trudeau and the End of a Canadian Dream*. (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1995).

⁴²⁰ Martin Pâquet, “Toward a Quebec Ministry of Immigration, 1945 to 1968,” (*CHA Pamphlet*, Vol. 23, 1998: 1-28).

⁴²¹ Ibid, pg. 13

Canada.”⁴²² This sentiment culminated in Bill 75 on 4 December 1968, officially creating the Ministry of Immigration of Quebec. This was the legal and political framework that allowed Quebec to deal with immigration issues and integrate immigrants into the Quebec body politic. The establishment of its own immigration policy was a demonstration of the social, cultural, political, and economic importance of newcomers. Stemming from this, Pâquet notes, “it began a struggle against the Federal State for the conquest of a symbolic political space.”⁴²³

That French Canadians represented the demographic majority, but were social and economic subordinates, was a sociopolitical reality that distinguished Montreal from Toronto. The environment pitted Francophone against Anglophone interests. In this context, Allophone communities were seen as sources of demographic power. Consequently, within Montreal, there was a historically entrenched class and ethnic conflict that was unique to the city. Furthermore, the city’s landscape that was divided into Anglophone, Francophone, and Allophone quarters were permanent reminders of difference. When immigrants were confronted with the choice of public services, primarily education, they most often calculated that it would be best to associate themselves with Montreal’s Anglophone community. In many ways, the Quiet Revolution and the accompanying debate on immigration was an intellectualization of the lived realities that imprinted themselves on Montreal’s landscape. The spirit of the times also provided a fertile ground for a social dialogue that revolved around justice, power, oppression, and resistance.

⁴²² *Ibid*, pg. 14

⁴²³ *Ibid*, pg. 20

Montreal was unlike any other North American city in the 1960s and 1970s because its history, language, and cultural politics became infused with postcolonial thought, becoming what historian Sean Mills describes as, “a meeting place for different colonized subjects, a site where they could meet each other and imagine a different future for their countries of origin.”⁴²⁴ Public space including the media, universities, cafés, and many other sites of grassroots dialogue all reflected an environment intimately informed by Third-World theory and the language and symbols of power and resistance.⁴²⁵ The emerging Quebecois identity drew on simultaneously occurring global processes and events like decolonization⁴²⁶ and the Black Power movement in the United States, which sought to explain the contemporary condition of oppressed groups through an analytical critique of capitalism, imperialism, and Third-Worldism.⁴²⁷

Many segments of society increasingly came to see themselves as colonized. The influential writings of intellectuals like Frantz Fanon whose observations on (de)colonization eloquently exposed the inherent binary interests between settlers and natives, became a theoretical underpinning, in conjunction with Marxism, to uplift the Quebecois within their own province.⁴²⁸ Fanon’s *The Wretched of the Earth* painted a graphic picture of a powerless people in relation to a colonial master whose primary interest was political control and the extraction of

⁴²⁴ Sean Mills, *The Empire Within: Postcolonial Thought and Political Activism in Sixties Montreal*. (Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010), pg. 7.

⁴²⁵ Sean Mills, and for a study on radical politics and the Quebec media during the Quiet Revolution see, Marc Raboy, *Movements and Messages: Media and Radical Politics in Quebec*. Trans. David Homel (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1984).

⁴²⁶ For an examination of French Canadian decolonization writers, see Alexis Lachaine, “Black and Blue: French Canadian Writers, Decolonization and Revolutionary Nationalism in Quebec, 1960 – 1969” (PhD diss., York University, 2007).

⁴²⁷ Robin D. G. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 2002) pg. 62.

⁴²⁸ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth: The Handbook for the Black Revolution that is Changing the Shape of the World*. Trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1963). Also see Sean Mills. For an overview of union movements see Raboy.

wealth.⁴²⁹ As Third-World theory spread throughout the colonized world, it pervaded the Quebecois intellectual current that increasingly saw Quebec as a colonized space with English Canada as the master of the majority francophone population.

While influenced by the above context, young, politicized, and, in a way, radical, Francophone Quebecers outwardly expressed discontent with their socio-economic, socio-cultural, and socio-linguistic position in North America. In *White Niggers of America*, one of the most widely disseminated works on the plight of the Quebecois, Pierre Vallières affirmed, “The author of this book is a Québécois, a French Canadian, a proletarian, a colonized man and a baptized son of the Church. Hence, an extremely frustrated individual for whom ‘freedom’ is not a metaphysical question but a very concrete problem.”⁴³⁰ Vallières’s sentiment further reflected the amalgamation of socialist, Third-World, and Quebecois nationalist thinking in his qualification for using of the term nigger. Aside from skin colour and their continent of origin, he argued, Black Americans and French Canadians had much in common. Both had been brought to North America to serve the interests of imperial powers. Both had been imported as a pool of cheap labour to serve these same interests. Moreover, the modern condition of both groups still reflected a state of their exploitation and presence in society as second-class citizens.⁴³¹

It was this sentiment that underscored what was, in the eyes of the Canadian state, one of the most radical and dangerous underground movements, known as the *Front de Libération du Québec* (FLQ). As Louis Fournier explains, “Its original aim was to be an auxiliary force

⁴²⁹ Ibid

⁴³⁰ Pierre Vallières, *White Niggers of America*. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), pg. 13.

⁴³¹ Ibid pgs. 21-22.

working alongside (and within) the open, “legal” independence movement. It saw its role as a ‘detonator,’ an accelerator of History, administering a violent electroshock.”⁴³² The FLQ became known to the public following the bombing of three Montreal army barracks on March 7, 1963. An announcement following the violence communicated that this was “a revolutionary movement made up of volunteers ready to die for the cause of political and economic independence for Quebec,” and that targets would be, “all colonial symbols and institutions”.⁴³³ Following the event, the Canadian state would closely monitor the activities of the FLQ.⁴³⁴ As its actions demonstrated, the organization accepted political violence as a necessary condition of revolution.⁴³⁵ It also expressed a desire of socialist transformation that would give economic and political power to the workers of Quebec. The FLQ’s use of explosives throughout the 1960s in federal government buildings, mailboxes, radio stations etc, was a major reason for heightened security concerns in Montreal. The use of violence was taken to the extreme in the October Crisis of 1970. On October 5 James Cross, a British trade commissioner was kidnapped by the organization. When negotiations for his release stalled, on October 10, the FLQ kidnapped Pierre Laporte, Labour Minister of Quebec. On October 16, authorities refused to negotiate any further with the FLQ and proclaimed the War Measures Act during peace time, an unprecedented move by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. On October 17, Laporte was killed by his captors. The use of violence by the FLQ and the justification to suspend civil liberties by the Canadian state is

⁴³² Louis Fournier, *F.L.Q.: The Anatomy of an Underground Movement*. Edward Baxter, trans. (Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1984), pg. 14.

⁴³³ *Ibid*, pg. 13.

⁴³⁴ See Guy Bouthillier and Édouard Cloutier, eds., *Trudeau’s Darkest Hour: War Measures in Time of Peace October 1970*. (Montreal: Baraka Books, 2010), in particular the chapters, Dan G. Loomis, “Military Deployment: The government and the military, in 1969, were preparing for a showdown in Quebec;” Reg Whitaker, “Police Deployment: The RCMP never asked for the War Measures Act, were not consulted as to its usefulness, and would have opposed it if they had been asked their opinion;” and Desmond Morton, “Trudeau’s target was the affluent dilettantes of revolutionary violence.”

⁴³⁵ Fournier, pg. 25

widely debated by historians.⁴³⁶ At any rate, the event represents the apex of tensions that had increasingly pervaded Montreal's political context.

While generally overlooked in historiographical literature, immigrants to Quebec brought their homeland politics with them. The social, political, and economic context of Greece lent itself neatly to the political scene that existed in Montreal. Many saw similarities between Greece's state oppression of the Left and Canada's treatment of French Canadians. The military dictatorship was the apex of the country's post civil war quarrel that was particularly punitive towards the Left. As Constantine Tsoucalas's *The Greek Tragedy* rightly noted in 1969, "Dictatorships do not come out of the blue."⁴³⁷ Following the country's civil war that went from 1946 to 1949, the virtual defeat of the Left had led to the political domination by the Right. This power extended well beyond official politics. Perhaps to an even greater extent than the rest of the Western World, the assault on the Left appeared in nearly every aspect of social and cultural life.⁴³⁸ Greece's entry into NATO in 1952 cemented this political trajectory, which had begun with the Truman Doctrine increasingly tying Greece to American interests.

The putsch in Greece was a response to political deadlock. After seeing the Right dominate politics throughout the 1950s, the political climate changed with George Papandreou's attempt to form a centrist government that consisted of parliamentarians from both the Right and Left. Given the presence of American interests and the recent appointment of King Constantine

⁴³⁶ See Dan G. Loomis, *Not Much Glory: Quelling the F.L.Q.* (Toronto: Deneau Publishers, 1984); William Tetley, *The October Crisis, 1970.* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2007); Dan Daniels, *Québec, Canada and the October Crisis.* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1973); John Saywell, *Quebec 70: A Documentary Narrative.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971).

⁴³⁷ Constantine Tsoucalas, *The Greek Tragedy.* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), pg. 9.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid*, pg. 115

who was uncompromising in his bid to be rid of a seemingly dangerous Centre-Left coalition, Greek politics became unstable. From 1963 to 1967, the country went through several elections. The country's political deadlock reached its climax in 1965 when King Constantine dismissed the George Papandreou government, causing a constitutional crisis. Following several failed attempts to form a government, new elections were called for 28 May 1967. The bloodless coup occurred in one evening through a series of calculated threats, manoeuvres, and swift action. The colonels suspended the right to strike. Public or private assemblies of more than five people needed to be authorized. Media broadcasts needed preauthorization from government. Political parties were banned. Evidently, as an anonymous Athenian intellectual wrote in 1971, "This was a formidable legal arsenal with which to bind and gag the entire country."⁴³⁹ The regime also opened the door to unprecedented foreign investment, particularly from the United States.

The collision of social forces in Montreal created a scenario that necessitated, or so believed the RCMP, a more sustained and pervasive surveillance network. In this urban space, communism, but also many other threats called for an investigation of Greek anti-junta activism. The fear of cross-cultural and cross-political pollination stemming from Montreal's politicized scene and the importation of immigrant politics underscored the RCMP's investigation of radical and extremist activity.

Within the city's Greek community, the RCMP's investigations targeted two groups with the most obvious ties to the political situation in Greece and the anti-junta movement in

⁴³⁹ 'Athenian', *Inside the Colonel's Greece*. Trans. Richard Clogg (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1972), pg. 76.

Montreal. The first was Makrygiannis, a grassroots political organization formed in reaction to Greece's military dictatorship. The organization's headquarters were located at 5149 Park Avenue, in the midst of Montreal's Greek town.⁴⁴⁰ The RCMP suspected Makrygiannis of being a communist front organization. While declared communists were part of the organization, Makrygiannis was in actuality, a temporary alliance of many Greek leftist groups in Montreal that had decided to suspend ideological differences to collaborate against Greece's military junta, the most immediate threat to their political causes. The small organizations had been fractured by numerous issues that mostly centred around competing forms of leftist ideology. One issue was the interpretation and application of Soviet brand communism, an issue that had also split the Communist Party of Greece in 1968 (for a detailed overview of this schism, see Chapter Five).

The organization took its name from Ioannis Makrygiannis who was a leader and hero of the 1821 Greek war of independence from the Ottoman Empire. He subsequently fought a campaign to secure a constitution from King Othon of Greece. After being accused of conspiracy against the king, Makrygiannis was sentenced to death. The sentence was never carried out and on 3 September 1843, an uprising took place under his leadership and that of Colonel D. Kallergis that secured constitutional liberties from the king, the expulsion of Bavarians from their posts, and the subsequent granting of representative government and the creation of a national assembly to draft a new constitution.⁴⁴¹ In short, Makrygiannis was a popular national hero.

⁴⁴⁰ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 3, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, Ottawa S.I.B., Division "A", June 6, 1968.

⁴⁴¹ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 3, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, May 6, 1968.

The second most watched group was the Canadian Committee for Democracy in Greece (CCDG). The group, established in May 1967, was founded by eight academics mainly from Sir George Williams and McGill Universities. Another member, Gad Horowitz, was a political scientist from the University of Toronto.⁴⁴² In an attempt to raise both money and awareness for anti-dictatorship activities, the committee organized a fundraiser at the Queen Elizabeth Hotel. A \$5 entrance fee was charged for the evening which the committee titled, “Democracy in Greece”.⁴⁴³

The RCMP’s files on the CCDG’s presence at the 21 April 1968 demonstration in Montreal focused on a leaflet that called attention to a report prepared by Amnesty International on the treatment of political prisoners in Greece.⁴⁴⁴ The eloquent bilingual (French and English) four page leaflet relayed the injustices in Greece to a mainstream audience that would, in all likelihood, be sympathetic to the victims of government repression. The ability to convey matters of power, justice, and tyranny in both English and French, and to non-Greek speaking Canadians, was a serious matter for the Canadian state’s security branch.

Informants diligently reported on the demonstration, one of the earliest protest events to be held by the leftist group. The protest marked the first anniversary of the military junta’s rise to power. Investigators noted that the gathering attracted approximately 150 people. Commencing at the Ukrainian Hall on 7220 Hutchison Street, the crowd arrived at the U.S. Consulate. After

⁴⁴² Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 2, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks, Canadian Committee for Democracy in Greece*, August 15, 1967.

⁴⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴⁴ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 3, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, Montreal S.I.B, Division “C”, *Greek Demonstrations Marking First Anniversary of Junta – April 21st, 1968 – Canada*, Montreal, Quebec, April 24, 1968.

lingering there briefly, it marched to the site of the Greek Consulate in Montreal. There the demonstrators held their placards high.⁴⁴⁵ While many in the crowd may have joined the movement merely to call for Greece's return to democracy, the surveillance of the state interpreted the public display as leftist agitation.

An equally serious priority of the RCMP was to identify and recognize non-Greek participants and organizations. Among those in attendance at the demonstration, for example, was Richard Lord, a prominent Black engineer and varsity hockey player known as Mr. Montreal; Milton Klein, a Montreal-based lawyer and a Member of Parliament for the Cartier riding; and Louis Balena, an educator and a Progressive Conservative candidate for the 1968 federal election in Saint-Michel.⁴⁴⁶

While public political events were an obvious site of investigation, other environments were important as spaces of potential radicalism. The workspace was one of the most important sites that allowed for the intersection of Greek politics and Montreal's politicized space. As the RCMP found, Greeks began to react to tyranny in Greece by building social and political alliances in their places of work. One area was the Greek shipping industry.⁴⁴⁷ Activists within the Greek community developed a plan to mobilize political cells on Greek ships so that at a moment's notice, entire cargoes could be taken over. The organizers also thought that they could

⁴⁴⁵ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 3, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, Montreal S.I.B, Division "C", *Greek Demonstrations Marking First Anniversary of Junta – April 21st, 1968 – Canada*, Montreal, Quebec, April 24, 1968.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid

⁴⁴⁷ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 4, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, Montreal S.I.B., Division "C", *General Conditions and Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, 27, 1967.

organize sympathy strikes amongst dock workers.⁴⁴⁸ The plan proved to be unsuccessful as the organizers were removed by ship officers. One RCMP investigator noted that, “the Greeks are trying to use the Separatists and vice versa in their individual causes.”⁴⁴⁹

The RCMP also kept its finger on the pulse of Greek activity, even in instances unrelated to Greece. A commemorative dinner marking the 20th anniversary of the Chinese communist revolution took place at a Montreal restaurant.⁴⁵⁰ The event, sponsored by the Friends of Mao, also hosted representatives from other groups. Of the three-hundred guests in attendance, official representatives from the *Front de Libération du Québec* (F.L.Q.), East Wind Association, *les Intellectuels et Ouvriers Patriotes du Québec* (I.O.P.Q), Al-Fatah, and Makrygiannis were present. An RCMP officer reported that one I.O.P.Q. representative proudly cited the group’s record of action, not “just talking.”⁴⁵¹ In comparing itself to Greece’s resistance movement, the IOPQ argued that only a few bombs had been used against the junta (in Greece) since 1967 while “in the same period the I.O.P.Q. and Separatists had used dozens of bombs against the imperialist class enemy.”⁴⁵² The RCMP was concerned that the I.O.P.Q. had recruited members of Montreal’s Greek population and vowed to pursue further cooperation between the two sides.⁴⁵³

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid

⁴⁵⁰ The restaurant was named Sun Kuo Min and was located at 67 Lagauchetiere Street, Montreal, Quebec.

⁴⁵¹ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 5, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, *General Conditions and Subversive Activities Amongst Chinese – Annual Anniversary Celebration of the Chinese Peoples Republic - Canada*, October 14, 1969, pg. 1.

⁴⁵² Ibid

⁴⁵³ Ibid, pg. 2

On 28 October 1969, a demonstration in front of the Greek consulate in Montreal was marked by the arrest of eighteen individuals, a majority of whom were members of *Les Intellectuels et Ouvriers Patriotes du Québec*.⁴⁵⁴ A concerned RCMP officer stated, “this was the second occasion on which this group had involved themselves in what was basically a purely Greek matter.” Even more important however, was the fact that Greeks were joining other organizations such as *le Comité pour les Droits Democratiques du Peuple* (C.D.D.P.), which would provide the organizations with the “opportunity to emphasize their support for ‘oppressed’ peoples, including the ‘oppressed’ people of Quebec.” The support went both ways. In a letter to Montreal’s Greek consulate the oppression by the Greek government was likened to the oppression of the people of Quebec by the Canadian government.⁴⁵⁵

It was not merely Greek and Greek – French Canadian alliances that the RCMP discovered, but also cross-pollination involving other ethnic and racial groups. At a demonstration, targeted at the reign of Haiti’s authoritarian “president for life” François Duvalier, outside the Haitian consulate in Montreal, members of liberation movements in Brazil, Greece, Quebec, and Haiti were found to be in attendance. Soon after the meeting began,⁴⁵⁶ an attendee rose to argue that if the group needed money, it could kidnap the Haitian Consul. Following the suggestion, 150 to 200 persons gathered at the consulate and began chants of “*Au Poteau, Lafontant*”.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁴ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 5, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, December 11, 1969.

⁴⁵⁵ *Ibid*, pg. 2

⁴⁵⁶ The meeting start time was recorded to be 3:25 p.m.

⁴⁵⁷ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 6, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, Memorandum, To: Mr. J.M. Côté and Mr. T. H. W. Read, From: J. F. A. Séguin, *Demonstration in front of Haitian Consulate in Montreal*, February 9, 1971.

The surveillance spotlight also found that Makrygiannis was involved in the movement to save Black Liberationist Angela Davis. Makrygiannis sent telegrams to international organizations, other Greek Canadian organizations, and many prominent personalities.⁴⁵⁸ In the 1960s, Davis was an eminent member of the Communist Party of the United States of America and was known to be a close collaborator with the Black Panther Party. In 1970, Davis had been fired from her academic post at UCLA because of her political activism.⁴⁵⁹ Davis became a vocal supporter of three Black prisoners accused of killing a guard at Soledad Prison. During the trial of the three men, a hostage situation and subsequent murder of the judge and three black men landed Davis in jail because of her supposed connection to the arms used in the violent altercation.⁴⁶⁰ After Davis had publicly argued that she was innocent, a global campaign to see her released was initiated. Makrygiannis and other politically active groups in Montreal participated.

The cross-pollinating activities of ethnic and political groups also centered on specific Greek causes. In August 1971 for example, a public announcement was made regarding the establishment of the Hellenic Canadian Trust, a subsidiary of the National Bank of Greece.⁴⁶¹ Shortly after, the RCMP took note of a growing sentiment within “a certain milieu” of French Canada, which was critical of the provincial government’s authorization of such an institution.⁴⁶² The news of this disapproval did not reach RCMP investigators through Greek sources, but

⁴⁵⁸ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 6, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks, Democratic Voice*, date unpublished.

⁴⁵⁹ Bettina Aptheker, *The Morning Breaks: The Trial of Angela Davis*.(New York: International Publishers, 1975).

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid

⁴⁶¹ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 6, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks, Montreal – The Hellenic Canadian Trust*, date unpublished.

⁴⁶² Ibid

rather through an article published in *Le Nouvelliste* of Trois-Rivieres.⁴⁶³ Reporting on a bomb explosion at Arvida, for which an F.L.Q. cell had claimed responsibility, the article noted as well that the cell disapproved of the National Bank of Greece's presence in Montreal. The article also warned the Quebec government that its dealings with the Greek institution could have negative consequences. The incident showed that institutions representing the Greek junta were not tolerated by politicized movements.

The interaction between political movements and the existing fear around communism and French Canadian nationalism inevitably shaped how the RCMP investigated subversive activities related to Greece. Investigations of political activity involving Greeks and Greek issues reached French newspapers in order to develop a complete understanding of how pervasive the issue had become. In *Combat*, a French daily founded during the Resistance and circulating in Montreal, articles critical of the Greek state appeared following King Constantine's visit to Expo '67. The RCMP suspected that Greeks in the city used French publications to influence French speaking public opinion against the political system in Greece. *Combat* also published an article written by a young girl, recently returned from Greece, highlighting how the political situation in her former country was influencing the life of ordinary citizens. She depicted a populace that, to an outsider, was normal: "Apparently, everything seems calm, but . . . No freedom to speak, write or criticize the present regime exists. The people seem very nervous, they cannot foresee what the future holds for them. The least suspected person is arrested, as the country is filled with plain-clothed policemen."⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶³ The article was published on 18 August 1971.

⁴⁶⁴ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 3, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, "Clipping taken from 'Combat' (Struggle)," November 30, 1967.

Another article juxtaposed the contemporary political situation with the notion of Greece as the birthplace of democracy.⁴⁶⁵ “Democracy has just lost its mother,” it argued.⁴⁶⁶ Constantine was likened to a monster unworthy of the praise he was receiving in some Montreal circles. Demonstrators against Constantine’s visit maintained that the destruction of their constitution meant that Constantine was no longer their king. The article concluded by referring to the growing global social unrest that had found a natural ally in the Greek cause. The dictatorship and its monarchical support, noted the author, was a microcosm of a much larger movement that Quebecers could identify with: “The Montreal demonstrators, amongst whom were a great number of long-standing Quebecers, expressed the opinion according to which, by restoring democracy in Greece, a severe blow would be dealt at US imperialism and that that struggle bore at the same time its own identity.”⁴⁶⁷

The Canadian state was particularly interested in the activities of a Montreal couple, the above-mentioned political scientist and internationally published scholar Jean Maynaud and his wife Helene Zographos, a prominent figure on the RCMP radar. Her travels to Toronto and Europe were noted and actively monitored. Her background, political activity, and her spouse provided Zographos-Meynaud with a public forum for espousing criticisms of Greece’s military dictatorship. She was born in Paris to an affluent Greek family and she actively participated in the Greek resistance during the Second World War.⁴⁶⁸ While living in Montreal, she acted as the

⁴⁶⁵ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 3, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, Gaetan Frechette, November 30, 1967.

⁴⁶⁶ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 3, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, “Clipping taken from ‘Combat’ (Struggle),” November 30, 1967.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid

⁴⁶⁸ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 4, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, “Scan”: Toronto, Ont.” May 31, 1968. The source comes from an interview in Toronto’s *Scan Magazine*.

General Secretary of the Federation of Consumers in Quebec and became a vociferous champion of Greece's return to democracy. In an interview published in 1968, she spoke about her involvement in Greek politics, noting, "I have always been interested in Greek political problems and the only way to get my husband to go to Greece was to get him involved in some sort of work there." The couple's political profile and attempts to cripple the junta became a magnet for RCMP investigators.

Helene Meynaud's approach offered tangible ways for Greeks and Canadians to exert positive influence on the small Mediterranean nation. Among her objectives was to organize the Greek Canadian community "into a big pressure group" that could be used to disseminate information to the Canadian public about atrocities in Greece: "we must use the mass media to let Canadians know all the facts we have about Greece. The recent statement of Amnesty International regarding torture of Greek political prisoners has been released across Canada, especially in Quebec. I speak on Radio Canada frequently. So far there's been no help from the Canadian government but lots of help from the Canadian people." Meynaud also pushed to halt all tourism and investment in Greece. The transfer of funds to the country, she argued, was not only a way of supporting the junta and its tyranny, but it was also an uncertain investment.

The RCMP noted Meynaud's talent at publicly relating contemporary political movements to the struggle for Greek democracy. Consequently, she was emblematic of the cross-pollination activities in Quebec society. In a broader context where Quebec was increasingly cognizant of Third-Worldism and the spirit of decolonization, Meynaud used familiar intellectual language to argue that the Greek dictatorship was even worse than a colonial

overlord. Her assessment of the junta's cozying up to American corporations, was critical of the way that the system depressed wages and standards of living. But, her words made these claims with the familiar language expressed within the Quebec nationalist movement. "The Junta has made conditions so favourable to U.S. investment," she argued, "that colonial countries wouldn't even agree to similar conditions. Tax concessions, allowances to extract all profits in dollars out of Greece, payment of all expenses for investment, cheap labor. There are no trade unions at all in Greece."⁴⁶⁹

Containing dangerous activities also extended to the National Film Board of Canada, where a documentary titled *The 80 goes to Sparta* was investigated. The film was about the life of Greek immigrants in Montreal. Its producers became the object of suspicion because of the content and interviewees that dominated the latter half of the documentary.⁴⁷⁰ "The first part [of the film] is mainly non controversial in its content",⁴⁷¹ noted an investigator. However, "The second portion of this film is devoted throughout to an attack on the military Junta in Greece and the lack of support given to Greek immigrants in Canada by its representatives."⁴⁷² Included in the film's line-up of interviews was a member of Makrygiannis, an editor of the *Greek Canadian Tribune*,⁴⁷³ and a member of the Pan-Hellenic Liberation movement (P.A.K.).⁴⁷⁴ As an RCMP

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid

⁴⁷⁰ The NFB had previously been a target of RCMP suspicion. For more on this, see Len Scher, *The Un-Canadians: True Stories of the Blacklist Era*. (Toronto: Lester Publishing Limited, 1992).

⁴⁷¹ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 5, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, Montreal S.I.B., Division "C", April 21, 1969.

⁴⁷² Ibid

⁴⁷³ For more on this paper, see Chapter Five.

⁴⁷⁴ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 5, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, Montreal, April 21, 1969.

investigator noted of the interviews, “All of these persons despise the Junta or the Greek Consulate in Montreal”.⁴⁷⁵

The immediate concern was with the film’s depiction of political cleavages as central to Greek identity.⁴⁷⁶ The RCMP feared that violence would become increasingly normal in Montreal’s Greek landscape. The RCMP noted that prior to April 1969, there had been five anti-junta demonstrations in a period of six weeks; two of which had resulted in violence between the pro and anti-junta elements in Montreal’s Greek community.⁴⁷⁷ “The showing of this controversial film . . . will do nothing to quiet these tensions”.⁴⁷⁸ Fears were also expressed that the anti-junta perspectives would become dominant in Montreal’s Greek community. The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) used its television program, *Hour Glass*, to examine the anniversary of the military coup d’état in Greece. A portion of the program was dedicated to having prominent members of Montreal’s Greek community speak candidly about how they thought the political situation in Greece was affecting Greeks in Canada. The panelists,⁴⁷⁹ however, were overwhelmingly representative of the Left element of the local community. “These persons were unanimous in their condemnation of the recent Greek Government and its defeat of democracy in Greece,” reported the investigator, “but no mention was made of Communism in any form.”⁴⁸⁰ The report explicitly observed that no pro-junta views had been included in the coverage. “The donation of free T.V. time to members of the Left wing Greek

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid, pg. 2.

⁴⁷⁶ Ibid

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid, pg. 3.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid

⁴⁷⁹ The panelists were Spiros Avgerinos (Makrygiannis member), Pantelis Trogadis (Editor, *Greek Canadian Tribune*), Costas Papandonikis (no affiliation mentioned), and Nicodemus Safos (no affiliation mentioned, but was interviewed while participating in a demonstration in front of Olympic Airlines ticket office).

⁴⁸⁰ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 5, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, Montreal S.I.B., Division “C”, April 23, 1969.

community to express their views,” remarked the investigator, “was not matched by any similar donation of free time to supporters of the Greek Government.”⁴⁸¹ As one investigator noted about the NFB film, “Although there were many complaints about the difficulties encountered by Greek immigrants in obtaining suitable employment, learning the language, saving money, obtaining welfare and progressing in their employment, nothing was said which could be construed as being in any way subversive to Canada.” But, the investigator was sure that there was more to it and concluded that the inclusion of leftist elements along with scenes of political division, “give rise to speculation about [the] true motives in the production of this film.”⁴⁸²

Speculation of subversive activity was particularly high prior to the visit of King Constantine. In a widely pervasive sweep intended to unearth embarrassing or dangerous plots related to the king’s visit, the Canadian state opened surveillance files on several local ethnic organizations. The underlying objective was to determine which individuals and associations had anti-communist, pro-communist, and nationalist sympathies.⁴⁸³ On this front, investigations revealed that nearly all local ethnic associations aspired to be apolitical spaces centred on charity and social functions. The Cretans’ Association (5220 Park Avenue) in Montreal for example, with four-hundred members was focused on helping Greeks who were either poor or unable to help themselves. Its executive officers and the board of directors ended up on the RCMP’s surveillance list.⁴⁸⁴ An informant advised the police that the Cretans’ Association did not

⁴⁸¹ Ibid, pg. 2.

⁴⁸² Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 5, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, Montreal S.I.B., Division “C”, November 8, 1969.

⁴⁸³ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 5, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, Montreal S.I.B., Division “C”, August 25, 1967.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid

sanction any political demonstration against the king, although some members of the organization did plan on attending rallies against him.⁴⁸⁵

The RCMP took an interest in other Greek ethnic organizations. The Laconian Brotherhood, formed in 1902 and one of the original Greek ethnic organizations, had a healthy membership of about fifty. By 1967, most members were in their seventies and “maintained their membership in order to be eligible for the benefits of a small pension plan set up by the brotherhood.”⁴⁸⁶ They “are all long time residents of Canada, who have settled within the community and take little if any interest in the political affairs of their homeland,”⁴⁸⁷ reported an investigator.

With a membership of approximately two-hundred, the Messinian Brotherhood was found to be close to dissolution. The executive board of the Hellenic Canadian Society of University Graduates, consisting of approximately twenty-five paid members, was pro-monarchist, as were the Pan-Arcadian Association (approximately 150 members) and the Naxian’s Men’s Society (approximately 80 members).⁴⁸⁸ While it was found that the Cephallonian Brotherhood, with a membership of approximately 250 restaurant owners might disagree with the junta or the king’s supporting of the dictatorship, “they would not jeopardize their good standing within the community by participating in an illegal demonstration.”⁴⁸⁹ Of the

⁴⁸⁵ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 2, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, Montreal S.I.B., Division “C”, August 25, 1967, pg. 2.

⁴⁸⁶ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 2, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, Montreal S.I.B., Division “C”, August 28, 1967.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid

⁴⁸⁸ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 2, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, Montreal S.I.B., Division “C”, *Visit of King Constantine and Queen Anna Maria of Greece to Expo '67*, August 29, 1967.

⁴⁸⁹ Ibid

other regional and associational philanthropic organizations comprising the Scoura-Varvitsa Society (approximately 150 members), the Canadian Association of the Hellenes from Egypt (approximately 1,000 members), none was deemed to present any danger.

Further investigations were conducted to determine whether these and other organizations were dangerous to the political and economic underpinnings of Canadian society.⁴⁹⁰ The RCMP compiled a comprehensive list of executive members that revealed individual names, positions, home addresses, legal incorporation information, affiliations with other organizations, aims and purposes, and historical backgrounds. The investment of resources designed to uncover how Greek ethnic organizations operated and to what end was done for the sole purpose of determining the pervasiveness of communist activity. Investigators concluded their research with comments on the likelihood of subversive activity. Files were promptly closed when little or no political activity was detected within the membership and resources were allocated elsewhere.

In the campaign to identify communists, the RCMP also probed the Communist Party of Quebec (CPQ). It was found that the official party had difficulty in attracting Greek members. Greeks in Montreal, were far less attracted to the CPQ than were their Toronto compatriots to the CPC. Discussions between Norman Brudy, a Toronto organizer for the CPC and Sam Walsh, a Montreal organizer for the CPQ, were centred on encouraging exchanges between organized Greeks in Toronto and would be members in Montreal in order to organize a Greek cohort in Montreal under the CPQ banner. The Toronto cell felt confident that they would be able to

⁴⁹⁰ The other groups investigated were the George Karaiskakis Roumeliotian Society of Montreal, the Hellenic Canadian Society of University Graduates, the Library of Christian Civilization, the Order of AHEPA (American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association), Hellenic Ladies Benevolent Society (Holy Trinity), Hellenic Liberal Political Association of Canada, and the Canadian Women's Social Society of Naxos.

organize with the help of Walsh.⁴⁹¹ While in Toronto official CPC doctrine and organizational principles were disseminated by a local leader to the Greek ethnic cell, a similar ethnic body in Montreal never really materialized. Earlier, eight Greeks had approached Sam Walsh in hopes of creating an ethnic cell within the party, but he could not persuade the group to agree completely with the party's manifesto and constitution and they subsequently joined the New Democratic Party.⁴⁹²

The RCMP also investigated the Greek Canadian Brotherhood (GCB), a pro-junta organization reportedly spying for the Greek Consulate in Montreal.⁴⁹³ Granted a provincial charter in 1967, the GCB was ostensibly non-political but membership was limited to "persons of Greek origin except those who are or have been connected with Communist inspired organization."⁴⁹⁴ Its membership reached 700 in 1968, a healthy size trumping a majority of other local ethnic organizations. While support for the junta was not an explicit part of the Greek Canadian Brotherhood's agenda, it must not be assumed that all members stood behind the Colonels. In fact, most members had migrated from the right wing Pan-Hellenic League for Support of Konstantinos Karamanlis, a group formed prior to the junta's rise to power. The organization disbanded in March 1968, but operated for over a year with the goal of reinstating the former Prime Minister.⁴⁹⁵ Following the organization's shift in mandates, an RCMP investigator noted that, "The majority of members were in favor of the present Government in

⁴⁹¹ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 3, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, Toronto S.I.B., Division "O", *Communist Party of Canada, Greek Club, Toronto*, Ontario, February 5, 1968.

⁴⁹² Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 3, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks, Communist Party of Quebec (C.P.Q.)* February 26, 1968.

⁴⁹³ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 5, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, Montreal S.I.B., Division "C", March 26, 1969.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid

⁴⁹⁵ Montreal S.I.B., Division "C", *Greek Canadian National Brotherhood (Ellinokanadiki Ethniki Adelfotis) – Montreal, Que.* – 28 – 5 – 1969, A201100137_2012-02-22_13-30-07, Stack 5, May 28, 1969, pg. 3.

Greece but they also have members who are anxious to see the restoration of democracy in Greece by regular means as soon as possible.”⁴⁹⁶

However, the GCB was not on the RCMP’s surveillance list because of its politics, but because of suspected intelligence gathering for the Greek government. An officer found that the Greek Consul General was, “directly involved in intelligence gathering activities in Canada through a source who is a member of the Greek Canadian Brotherhood.”⁴⁹⁷ The key actor was the president of the GCB who had been “disavowed” by the Greek government, but remained a permanent and honorary president of the Greek Canadian Brotherhood through which reconnaissance on anti-junta activities and individuals “were channelled to the Greek Consul General in Montreal.”⁴⁹⁸ The operation was part of a much broader agenda to identify Greek communists. As Minas Simatas argues, “the Greek state organized mass surveillance of its entire population as a basic anticommunist sociopolitical control mechanism”.⁴⁹⁹ While containing communism was a shared goal by Canada and Greece, the Greek state went beyond its authority to do so in Canada.

Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, the perceptions and experiences of immigrant politics in Montreal during the 1960s and 1970s were simultaneously shaped by transnational and local politics. The Montreal landscape was a unique Canadian space that shaped the contours of public

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid

⁴⁹⁷ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files RG 146 A 2011 – 00137. Stack 5, *General Conditions of Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks*, Montreal S.I.B., Division “C”, March 26, 1969.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid

⁴⁹⁹ Minas Simatas, *Surveillance in Greece: From Anticommunist to Consumer Surveillance*. (New York: Pella Publishing Company, Inc., 2004), pg. 4.

discourse and, consequently, security concerns. In a context shaped by communist containment and an emerging Quebec nationalist movement that had revolutionary undertones, Greek homeland politics was perceived as more dangerous than similar activity in Toronto (see Chapter Five). The presence of political violence, most notably by the F.L.Q., provided the RCMP with the necessary conditions to go beyond the threat of communism in order to identify the existence of potentially radical plots.

The RCMP was concerned about Greeks becoming increasingly involved in the plight of other groups and individuals with whom the anti-junta movement found a natural resonance. The RCMP regarded established links between Greeks and Quebec nationalists as most dangerous. If links between the most militant cohorts of the Quebec nationalist movement were successful at aligning themselves with newly arrived immigrants, the Canadian state would experience another layer of complexity in one of the most polarized episodes in the country's history. In Montreal, this pretext of potential violence through cross-pollination shaped the RCMP's perception of immigrant politics.

Did cross-pollination occur? The record shows that it did; however, there is no evidence to suggest that what happened was more prevalent or extreme than in Toronto. The key difference was the context that informed state perceptions of the city and its local political scene. While the sources used for this chapter are heavily redacted and limiting by consequence, it is

probably⁵⁰⁰ the case that anti-junta activities in Toronto and Montreal offered a similar amount of danger to the Canadian state. Many studies place immigration history in the 1960s and 1970s in a Cold War narrative. It is clear that the spread of communism was a top concern for the RCMP, but heightened political tensions fostered by Quebec's nationalist discourse added a unique nuance to the threat of potential immigrant radicalism.

As the next chapter will show, Toronto was a much different political and ideological landscape.

⁵⁰⁰ I have inserted the word "probably" because of the nature of the sources used for this chapter. As anyone who has worked with heavily redacted material can attest, there are many inconsistencies and discrepancies with what we are permitted to see. The passing of time and the release of currently inaccessible documents are the solution to this limitation.

CHAPTER FIVE

“The Greek Comrades in Canada Still Think in Terms of Greek Politics”:

The Communist Party of Canada, Greek Immigrants, and the Canadian State in Toronto during Greece’s Military Dictatorship, 1967 – 1974

In a candid memo on Greek communists in Toronto, an investigator of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) wrote the following:

The existing differences and split within the C[ommunist] P[arty] of Greece both in Greece and within the ranks of the Greek comrades living in other European countries is being felt here to a considerable degree. While various differences of opinion can be expected within the 50,000 members of the Toronto Greek community, it will be noted that sharp differences exist within [Beloyiannis], the [communist] Greek Party Club...One contributing factor to these differences is the fact that the local Greek populace – to a large degree – still adapt their thinking along the lines of Greek politics rather than Canadian politics.⁵⁰¹

The officer’s observations succinctly capture the entanglement of historical forces in Toronto in the late-1960s and early 1970s. The Canadian state, shaped by Cold War anxieties, wished to know what communist sympathizers were doing, but also how they were influencing new immigrants. As a direct consequence of this close surveillance, historians now have a record of the internal machinations of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) and its relationship with Greek communists who had recently arrived from Greece. While the CPC wished to shape the political organization of its Greek immigrant comrades⁵⁰² towards Canadian-centred ends, it quickly learned that homeland politics sometimes maintains a tenacious hold on the immigrant political imagination.

⁵⁰¹ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Officer, i/c. S.I.B., *Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece*, S.U.I., Toronto, Ontario. January 17, 1969.

⁵⁰² I have decided to use pseudonyms for all of the Greek immigrants in this chapter. Given that this chapter uses records from what was deemed to be clandestine activity, which may still have consequences for those that are alive (or their children) I have concluded that process, rather than names, is what is most important.

This chapter examines the transnational politics found in security files of the RCMP as they relate to Greek subversive activities in Toronto in the late-1960s and early-1970s. What follows, focuses on the CPC and its Greek immigrant recruits, who became the target of state surveillance. While the previous chapter revealed that Montreal was a political hotbed that attracted widespread state surveillance of Greek immigrant activity, this one will demonstrate that the Canadian state was focused almost exclusively on Greek communist organization in Toronto. Surveillance documents also illuminate a complex narrative of interests from the perspective of the Canadian state, the CPC, and Greek communists. While focused on a distant geographical space however, migrants were not removed from the local context within which they resided; a complex multifocal sense of identity that Arjun Appadurai termed translocalities.⁵⁰³ In an era of Cold War tensions and political polarization, local leaders of the CPC vigorously sought to shape the activism of Greek communists in a way that they believed to be more appropriate for the Canadian landscape. Greek communists however, resisted the managerial style of CPC leadership and adapted their organizing in a way that reflected their understanding of local surroundings and broader international goals – particularly the restoration of democracy in Greece and the rise to power of the working-class there. While considering these dynamics, this chapter contends that the de-territorialized sphere of Greek politics in Canada was a contested terrain that the state tried to understand and discipline while the CPC and Greek communists sought to mould in a way that legitimized their political imaginations and ideological narrative.

⁵⁰³ Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

Greek immigrants to Canada brought with them their hopes, desires, and dreams. For many, personal ambitions were informed by economic interests. For politically active migrants however, other interests, underscored by the desire to see social and political change, dictated their path in Canada. The military *coup* forced a remapping of political activity as leftist thought was pushed underground in Greece or into other cities across the world. This extraordinary situation inevitably captured the attention and imagination of Greek immigrant communities such as Toronto where transnational space was used for politics. As Nina Glick Schiller argues: “while borders may be cultural constructions, they are constructions that are backed by force of law, economic and political power, and regulating and regularizing institutions. What they come to mean and how they are experienced, crossed or imagined are products of particular histories, times, and place.”⁵⁰⁴ At the same time, as Peter Jackson et al. argue, we must “recognize the continuing power of nation-states in defining the framework and setting the terms within which transnational social relations take place.”⁵⁰⁵

Unlike Montreal, the Canadian state’s security concern in Toronto centered on communist subversion and proliferation of political radicalism in Southern European communities.⁵⁰⁶ The focus on communist activity in Toronto was not something new. Reg Whitaker, Gregory Kealey, and Andrew Parnaby note of the RCMP, “The force’s evolution in

⁵⁰⁴ Nina Glick Schiller, “The Situation of Transnational Studies,” *Identities* 4 (1997): 155- 166, pg. 159.

⁵⁰⁵ Peter Jackson, Phil Crang, and Claire Dwyer eds. *Transnational Spaces*. (New York: Routledge, 2004), pg. 5.

⁵⁰⁶ For more on how the Canadian state targeted Southern European communities to ensure their political and moral integration into Canadian society, see Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada*. (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006).

the early to mid-1920s was defined by two important and intimately connected trends: the emergence of the Communist Party of Canada as the sole focus of surveillance and intelligence-gathering operations and the simultaneous creation of the institutional mechanisms to carry out this serious work.”⁵⁰⁷

This chapter looks at the CPC’s interaction with a small group of Greek immigrants in Toronto who organized themselves into an ethnic cell named the Beloyiannis Club. Records show that the CPC did not resonate with most Greeks in this period.⁵⁰⁸ Even the many who did join the CPC believed that they were doing so in order to exert some influence on the Communist Party of Greece. The Greek cell decided to name itself after Nikos Beloyiannis, a communist hero who had been jailed by the Metaxas dictatorship in the 1930s and once again in 1950 after violating law 509/1947, which criminalized the Communist Party of Greece (KKE). At Beloyiannis’s trial, one of the three court-martials was Georgios Papadopoulos, who would later lead the military *coup d’état*. Beloyiannis was executed in 1951 and became a hero for Greek communists and an internationally known figure following Pablo Picasso’s sketch known as the “Man with the Carnation.” In Toronto, the Beloyiannis Club came into existence in 1967 with eight members. The early months of organization were plagued with problems. Within two months however, Norman Brudy,⁵⁰⁹ a Toronto organizer for the CPC, had helped to turn things

⁵⁰⁷ Reg Whitaker, Gregory Kealey, and Andrew Parnaby, *Secret Service: Political Policing in Canada from the Fenians to Fortress America*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), pg. 94.

⁵⁰⁸ This should not be applied to the post-1974 era. While this falls outside of the scope of this study, some documents from this research show that the numbers of Greeks organized under the Communist umbrella grew into the 1980s. The documents however, do not present a complete enough picture to draw concrete conclusions.

⁵⁰⁹ Norman Brudy was a CPC provincial party organizer for Saskatchewan in the early 1960s, prior to his departure for Toronto in 1966. Norman Brudy, interview by Murray Dobbin, Toronto, Ontario, June 6, 1977. University of Regina oUR Space: <http://ourspace.uregina.ca/handle/10294/944?show=full>

around. The Beloyiannis Club had its inaugural meeting with twenty-six individuals at the Piccadilly Square Restaurant in Toronto.⁵¹⁰

The CPC's desire to recruit and create a Greek ethnic cell went back to the 1920s and 1930s and was largely unsuccessful. Ivan Avakumovic explains: "The history of the CPC is the story of a small number of men and women who operated mostly on the fringe rather than in the mainstream of Canadian politics. Handicapped by the ethnic origin of much of its rank-and-file and by the social background of many of its leaders".⁵¹¹ Jim Mochoruk's study of Ukrainian Canadians and their relationship with the CPC highlights this point, arguing that politicized Ukrainians did not necessarily conform to the wishes of CPC leadership, but, "For those who know something of the radicalized Finns, Ukrainians, Russians, Poles, Jews, and other 'ethnics' who were affiliated with the communist parties in North America during the 1920s," he observes, "there is nothing really unusual about this."⁵¹² In the postwar period the CPC acted as an umbrella organization, often doling out resources, organizational expertise, and theoretical guidance on the working class and capitalism in general. By organizing subgroups with particular knowledge of certain cultures and languages, the CPC saw a way to gaining influence in Canada's growing ethnic population, but also in many trade unions that were dominated by

⁵¹⁰ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Toronto SIB, Division "O", *Communist Party of Canada, Toronto*, Ontario, July 26, 1967. The Piccadilly Square Restaurant was located at 702 Pape Avenue, Toronto, Canada.

⁵¹¹ Ivan Avakumovic, *The Communist Party in Canada: A History*. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1975), pg. v). For more on the CPC's history, see, *Canada's Party of Socialism: History of the Communist Party of Canada, 1921 – 1976*. (Toronto: Progress Books, 1982). For more on Anglo dominated Leftist movements in the postwar period, see: Dan Azoulay, *Keeping the Dream Alive: The Survival of the Ontario CCF/NDP, 1950-1963*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997),

⁵¹² Jim Mochoruk, "'Pop & Co' versus Buck and the 'Lenin School Boys': Ukrainian Canadians and the Communist Party of Canada, 1921 – 1931," in *Re-Imagining Ukrainian Canadians: History, Politics, and Identity*, ed. Rhonda L. Hinther and Jim Mochoruk. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

specific linguistic or cultural groups. In the Greek case, the often competing aspirations of the CPC and Beloyiannis created a relationship that vacillated between amicable and antagonistic.

Despite some differences between the Canadian and Greek communist organizers, the individuals on both sides shared some important commonalities. The most important of these was education. It is not by coincidence that the most prominent and respected members of Beloyiannis tended to be the most eloquent among their peers and the most capable of addressing questions of ideology, political philosophy, and the economic world around them. As Carmela Patrias's work, *Patriots and Proletarians* shows, it is ethnic elites that politicize communities.⁵¹³ Similar to the Hungarian community in Canada, which interpreted the 1919 Hungarian Revolution and other national symbols in polarized and competing ways, leaders of Beloyiannis wished to interpret the events of 21 April 1967 as an enduring class and ideological struggle. In doing so, the leaders of Beloyiannis offered a sense of continuity between the Old and New World, a process that Patrias's work also discovers. In her interpretation, which is also a perspective supported by this chapter, the work of elites preserve the ties that bound immigrants to their homeland.

The record that illuminates this chapter has been influenced by Access to Information, or, what Whitaker et al. refer to as the "black-ink brigade".⁵¹⁴ Because of this, one is forced to glean historical details and conclusions by reading in between the lines. While this process of

⁵¹³ Carmela Patrias, *Patriots and Proletarians: Politicizing Hungarian Immigrants in Interwar Canada*. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

⁵¹⁴ Whitaker et al. *Secret Service*, pg. 218.

historicization is not ideal, the record is sufficient enough to reveal some important details concerning the Greek immigrant protagonists in this chapter. First, as mentioned above, the chief organizers of the Beloyiannis Club, namely, Angelos Stephanidis, Christos Giannopoulos, and Thomas Antoniou were seasoned communists adept at applying ideology to global and contemporary affairs. Second, available data suggests that the leaders of the Beloyiannis Club were members of the Communist Party of Greece prior to their migration to Canada. Third, it is abundantly clear that the Beloyiannis leadership was experienced at grassroots and clandestine political organizing. In Toronto, the contact between Canadian and Greek political realities forced negotiations and a re-framing of political goals and imagination from both Beloyiannis and the CPC.

In many ways, the relationship between CPC leadership and the Beloyiannis Club was shaped by the Communist Party of Greece. The divisions abroad, most notably the 1968 split within the Party, which pitted factions within Greece against those outside of the country, had a frustratingly pervasive quality for the CPC. Stathis Kalyvas and Niko Marantzidis affirm:

An enduring, central, and most distinctive feature of the Greek communist movement is its dual character: since the party's split in 1968, a pro-Soviet 'orthodox' Communist Party has coexisted and competed with a 'reformist' one...Indeed, the 1968 split reflected to a considerable extent a cleavage between the Communist cadres who operated inside Greece and those who remained outside.⁵¹⁵

The KKE's trajectory, however, was also shaped by Greece's Civil War. In 1947, the Communist Party was outlawed effectively forcing the scattering of KKE leadership. In 1951, Greece saw the formation of a new party named EDA (The United Democratic Left), which was

⁵¹⁵ Stathis N. Kalyvas and Niko Marantzidis, "Greek Communism, 1968 – 2001," *East European Politics & Societies*, Fall 2002:16 (665-690).

in essence “the legal political expression of the outlawed KKE.”⁵¹⁶ EDA was a moderate leftist movement and, as such, did not replace the KKE. Kalyvas and Marantzidis explain that,

The 1968 split had its roots in an intense intraparty conflict among party elites, which was facilitated by the Party’s peculiar geographical dualism. A cleavage arose between the KKE leadership, located outside Greece, and the Interior Bureau, the group of Communist leaders placed within the EDA, in charge of KKE policy implementation in Greece. Presumably, the KKE leadership felt that EDA’s success would reduce their power or even make them redundant.⁵¹⁷

The 1968 split at the Party’s Twelfth Plenum of the Central Committee saw the formation of the Communist Party of Greece of the Interior (KKE Esoterikou).⁵¹⁸ The opposing side was viewed as a puppet of Soviet influence and its members were mocked for engaging in “the deformed practices of the Eastern European countries”.⁵¹⁹ While the Communist Party of Greece evolved and dealt with several party issues over the course of the dictatorship, it is quite clear that for the Beloyiannis Club, the 1968 party split was the most important issue imported from Greece.

Beloyiannis had become consumed by the 1968 split in the Communist Party of Greece. In July 1968, a meeting of the Greek Club triggered such fervent debate over the KKE’s trajectory that the club needed to call in Norman Brudy, CPC local organizer in Toronto and chief intermediary between the CPC and Beloyiannis, as an arbiter.⁵²⁰ Brudy reasoned that the best way to help their comrades in Greece was to build a united front in Canada that championed democracy in Greece. On this point, Brudy noted of the Beloyiannis Club, “if they spend their

⁵¹⁶ *ibid*

⁵¹⁷ *ibid*, page 667

⁵¹⁸ *ibid*, 667-668

⁵¹⁹ Ilios Yannakakis, “The Greek Communist Party,” *New Left Review* (March 1: 0: 54), pg. 47.

⁵²⁰ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Toronto SIB, Division “O”, *Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece, Toronto, Ontario, July 24, 1968.*

time on that rather than fighting and arguing about which group in Greece is better than the other, then there will be some hope.”⁵²¹

In the latter months of 1968, the CPC received documents related to the split of the Communist Party of Greece from two separate sources: Bucharest, Romania and Berlin, Germany. One document had come from the Interior Office of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece. Accompanying this material was a letter from Greek political prisoners (who and where they were is uncertain), taking sides with the Interior Bureau of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party. Presumably, the second set of documents had been sent from the competing faction of the KKE. As Norman Brudy argued during a meeting with some Beloyiannis members, “it has been very clear for some time now that all of the political differences that exist within the Greek Left and within the Greek C.P. is felt in one way or another in Toronto.”⁵²² Evidently, members of the Greek Left in Toronto remained stuck in a distant political fight.

The received materials inspired considerable debate within Beloyiannis because they called for another plenary session of the Communist Party of Greece.⁵²³ The claim was that the 12th plenary session was illegal because it did not reflect the majority of the Communist Party of Greece. Further, some members argued that there had not been a single Interior meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece in the previous ten years, which bound the Toronto club to invalid decisions made at the 12th plenum. Finally, the document noted that a

⁵²¹ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Toronto SIB, Division “O”, *Communist Party of Canada, Greek Club, Toronto, Ontario*, January 6, 1969.

⁵²² Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Toronto SIB, Division “O”, *Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece, Toronto, Ontario*, January 17, 1969.

⁵²³ *Ibid*

majority of the Central Committee members were in agreement that a new plenum should be held, which Beloyiannis members were divided on. Brudy attempted to quell divisions by pointing to a more pressing issue, the defeat of the dictatorship. He argued, “[Greece’s] national interest demands the cooperation and the united action of all the patriotic anti-dictatorial forces against the dictatorship...A program which can, under the present conditions, rally all of the forces against the dictatorship.”⁵²⁴ The focus on democratization was an attempt to distance Beloyiannis from the politics of the KKE. Brudy understood that a complete abandonment of Greek issues would probably be impossible, but he wished to quell Greek centred cleavages in order to focus on larger goals.

Brudy argued that the dictatorship in Greece offered a rallying point that could inspire collective collaboration and the attainment of influence beyond the Greek community. While communists and socialists each abhorred the dictatorship, there were also many other segments of society that opposed the authoritarian regime. Brudy cited Cuba as an exemplary model. Fidel Castro, he told the Greek cell, was not an outward communist when he led the Cuban revolution. However, after a very broad coalition was able to overthrow the dictatorship, different alliances began to form, which allowed the working class to excise the remaining capitalist factions from the country. Also, as organization around Vietnam had proven, there were many segments of society that shared a repugnance of authoritarian regimes. From the view of the CPC, this sentiment could be used as a means to collect support, unite the Left, and impress real influence on the situation in the anti-junta resistance. As Brudy told the Greek cell, “The dictatorship in

⁵²⁴ Ibid

Greece is a powerful enemy and to defeat it you need all of the forces that can be united and that includes the sections of the bourgeoisie that are anti-dictatorship.”⁵²⁵

The confluence of Greek and Canadian realities eventually led to a new policy. The official line taken by the CPC followed the Communist Party of Greece’s 12th Plenum. This position prioritized an overthrow of the dictatorship and the restoration and safeguarding of constitutional and democratic rights, under a broad coalition of anti-dictatorship and resistance organizations, as the chief objective of the Communist Party. Brudy argued that, “It does not matter whether so and so is right and so and so is wrong.”⁵²⁶ His position, which reflected that of the Communist Party of Canada and Greece was that democracy was being strangled by tyranny and this fact transcended all other seemingly important issues. Brudy noted, the party line, “does not call for Socialism or a Socialist revolution but for the overthrow of the dictatorship.”⁵²⁷

RCMP investigations reveal that Toronto’s role as a transnational hub of Greek communist activity was growing through the late-1960s. While Toronto was not at the epicentre of this activity, in some cases, it was used as a base to develop a network with European and other Canadian cities. In early November 1967 for example, two Greeks connected with the CPC left Toronto by air in order to attend the International Conference of the Greek National Liberation Movement, which was to be held in Paris.⁵²⁸ Although the conference was cancelled just before it began, one of the Toronto representatives was set to meet with the Communist

⁵²⁵ Ibid

⁵²⁶ Ibid

⁵²⁷ Ibid

⁵²⁸ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Toronto SIB, Division “O”, *Communist Party of Canada, Greek Club, Toronto, Ontario, November 10, 1967.*

Party of Greece, either in Greece or somewhere in Europe.⁵²⁹ In order to facilitate the meeting, the CPC's Nelson Clarke, member of the National Executive Council,⁵³⁰ wrote a letter of introduction bearing the official seal of the CPC. The letter simply read:

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

This is to introduce comrade E. Michelakis.
He is a member of the Communist Party of Canada.
Would you kindly give him any assistance possible
that he may require in carrying out his work.

(signed) Nelson Clarke

National Organizer⁵³¹

Beloyiannis and the CPC also used Toronto as a platform to receive prominent communist organizers to lend credibility to the groups' organizational efforts. Discussions began between leadership of the CPC and the Beloyiannis Club in order to bring Betty Ambatielos⁵³² from London to speak to members.⁵³³ Ambatielos was a member of the British Communist Party who had agreed to a speaking tour in Canada on the condition that her visit not be sponsored by the CPC, presumably because a link with a communist organization would attract unwanted attention.⁵³⁴ The Greek communist cell therefore used its own banner and connections in the

⁵²⁹ Ibid

⁵³⁰ *Canada's Party of Socialism: History of the Communist Party of Canada, 1921 – 1976*. (Toronto: Progress Books, 1982).

⁵³¹ Ibid

⁵³² Appears in record as Ambatielas, but I have corrected to Ambatielos.

⁵³³ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Toronto SIB, Division "O", *Communist Party of Canada, Greek Club, Toronto, Ontario*, December 7, 1967.

⁵³⁴ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Toronto SIB, Division "O", *Communist Party of Canada, Greek Club, Toronto, Ontario*, January 26, 1968.

Greek community to organize a large meeting. While the speaking tour never came to fruition, the CPC's push to use Toronto to internationalize its work inspired Cold War concerns within the security branch of the Canadian state.⁵³⁵

The CPC used Beloyiannis to wield influence on Greek immigrants elsewhere, notably Montreal.⁵³⁶ CPC leadership was quick to recognize that there was no consistent and sustained communications between Greek resistance activities in the two cities. Nelson Clarke and Norman Brudy approached Sam Walsh, as we saw in the previous chapter, about helping members of Beloyiannis to set up a Greek cell in Quebec. Christos Kolyvas,⁵³⁷ editor of Montreal's *Hellenic Postman* (*Ελληνικός Ταχυδρόμος*), was believed to be someone who could help them gain a foothold in Montreal. But, their success was limited.

The CPC's relationship with and management of Beloyiannis reveals an organization plagued by factionalism reflecting Greek, not Canadian, political objectives. In addition to the 1968 split and a language barrier, Norman Brudy "found that there were many divisions within the Greek community itself and he was not always sure to which or of which he was speaking. He was also seldom sure about the basis of these divisions."⁵³⁸ An informant revealed that the CPC "found it very difficult in dealing with the domestic Greek situation".⁵³⁹

⁵³⁵ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Toronto SIB, Division "O", *Communist Party of Canada, Secretariat*, Canada. October 23, 1968; Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Toronto SIB, Division "O" *Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece*, October 23, 1968.

⁵³⁶ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Toronto SIB, Division "O", *Communist Party of Canada, Greek Club, Toronto, Ontario*, February 5, 1968.

⁵³⁷ Christos Kolyvas was editor of Montreal's leftist newspaper, *The Hellenic Postman* (*Ελληνικός Ταχυδρόμος*). For more on the weekly publication and its editor, see Chapter 5.

⁵³⁸ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Toronto SIB, Division "O", *General Conditions and Subversive Activities Amongst Greeks – Canada*, February 11, 1969.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid*

Internal dissension vacillated between the personal and political. Nick Demetriou was a leading source of antagonism. Informants noted that Demetriou's presence regularly steered constructive discussion into outright argument.⁵⁴⁰ As the club began to recognize Demetriou as a lingering problem, it moved to eventually expel him and two of his supporters from its ranks. Beloyiannis members dubbed Demetriou a "main instigator", "a sectarian S.O.B.", and someone "who apparently refuses to adhere to the Party line."⁵⁴¹ In an explosive episode, Demetriou and two of his supporters were charged with the following:

1. Systematically filibustering the meetings of the club so that it is impossible for the club to get any meaningful work done.
2. The use of derogatory language against party members and expressions that do not go with their being members of the Community Party.
3. Accusing Party members with unproved accusations and going so far as to accuse party members of being CIA agents.⁵⁴²

In a vote to determine consequences, eighteen of twenty Beloyiannis members voted in favour of expelling Demetriou while seventeen voted to suspend his two supporters. The incident that stalled the club's advancement was over. While the accusations were serious, Brudy's perspective was that Demetriou "was not an anti-party person but was just 'plain stupid'."⁵⁴³

On a political matter, some members of Beloyiannis argued for the abandonment of the KKE in favour of affiliating with Greece's united front organization. The same members also argued that the CPC should support the United Democratic Left organization, E.D.A. (Ενιαία

⁵⁴⁰ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Toronto SIB, Division "O", *Communist Party of Canada, Greek Club, Toronto, Ontario*, March 20, 1968.

⁵⁴¹ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Toronto SIB, Division "O", *Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece, Toronto, Ontario*, January 17, 1969.

⁵⁴² Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-24-48, Tor to Ott, *Re: Communist Party of Canada, Metropolitan Toronto Executive Committee, Toronto, Ontario*. February 25, 1970.

⁵⁴³ Ibid

Δημοκρατική Αριστερά).⁵⁴⁴ The perspective was contentious and largely unpalatable to most of the Beloyiannis members and CPC leadership. E.D.A, the CPC argued, was incongruent with the party line for several reasons. First, E.D.A was an alliance of communists, socialists, and other democrats under one umbrella organization that sought to influence national democratic transformation, not communist revolution. Second, the CPC disagreed with the view of E.D.A. that every citizen, despite their political affiliation, could be a member. Essentially, the CPC disagreed with joining a coalition of leftist parties. Third, E.D.A's executive body, including its president, were not communists and according to the CPC, were well known socialists. In essence, E.D.A was a united leftist organization that did a lot of good in the opinion of Norman Brudy and the CPC, however, contrary to the opinion of the pro-E.D.A members of Beloyiannis, the united Left organization was not communist and therefore could not take the place of the communist party. Brudy's sentiment reinforced this notion, as he argued, "[t]here can be a broad united front and they [the Greeks] need a united front, but without a Communist Party, there can be no united front."⁵⁴⁵

The party fractures emanating from Greece did more than divide the Beloyiannis membership. As questions of how to interpret events from their homeland became more pervasive, frustration between the CPC and Beloyiannis began to fester. The CPC insisted that the major question should be what Greeks in Toronto were doing to influence change in Canada. As Brudy put it, "the Greek comrades in Canada would not be able to settle this problem [the 1968 KKE split]. The problem would have to be settled 'over there'".⁵⁴⁶ In Canada, Greek

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid

⁵⁴⁶ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Toronto SIB, Division "O", *Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece, Toronto, Ontario*, January 15, 1969.

communists and other leftists would be able to influence change through unity of action. Trying to influence the Greek Left through argument and debate in Toronto was a trivial endeavor, but a concerted effort to influence the position of the Canadian government, argued the CPC, was the best way to bring about positive change in Greece.⁵⁴⁷ The agenda to mobilize their Greek comrades towards Canadian ways of organizing became the chief concern of the CPC.

To be productive in their activism, Brudy argued that an organization led by, but free of explicit political connections to the Communist Party, would need to be established in order to influence the Canadian government.⁵⁴⁸ An apolitical front organization would have a broader appeal that could be used to demonstrate a collective voice loud enough for the Canadian government to hear. Brudy cited two examples. The first was a successful conference held in Toronto by the Canadian Committee for Amnesty in Portugal. In this case, the Communist Party of Canada had organized a conference that attracted lawyers, church leaders, and other high profile guests, in order to discuss, protest, and call attention to the dictatorship in Portugal. The conference was successful because it had remained free of any political or Communist Party connection. Brudy encouraged the further use and development of the Committee for Restoration of Democracy in Greece and characterized it as “the ideal kind of a committee”. Brudy noted that Trudeau would not be able to promote the agenda of a Greek political party and therefore, Greeks hoping to guide the hand of the Canadian government could not be labelled as members of EDA or any other political parties. The second successful example was the organization of a well-attended hemispheric conference on Vietnam in Montreal by the CPC, which was not branded as a Communist Party event. Had the event been endorsed by the CPC, Brudy argued,

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid

its appeal would have been significantly lower. Additionally, he reasoned, those who disagreed with American policy in South-East Asia were not communist at all. While it was healthy for Greeks to have a debate on E.D.A. and how the Communist Party should be organized in Greece, it was best to do so internally. Brudy felt that “The only thing that unites any Greek person, regardless of their politics in the city, was to restore democracy in Greece, and this must be left as the only thing that was of interest.”⁵⁴⁹

Internal strife and the desire to grow its influence eventually compelled the CPC to change its course on an important issue. In order to create connections with broader Canadian society and with a greater majority of Greeks in Canada, Brudy accepted the presence of E.D.A. within a united front of progressive organizations.⁵⁵⁰ In July 1969, E.D.A. had grown in importance and therefore became an organization of possible value to the CPC and Beloyiannis.⁵⁵¹ Misha Cohen, who was an aide to William Kashtan, CPC General Secretary, became involved in the matter and proposed that Beloyiannis members could simultaneously hold membership in both organizations. Politically speaking, he argued, “there is no difference between the two organization[s].”⁵⁵² More importantly, Cohen also stated that the Communist Party line in Canada “agree[d] with that of the E.D.A.” and encouraged the CPC to focus on building E.D.A.’s influence, which was sizeable with approximately 140 members.⁵⁵³ Moreover, members of Beloyiannis were strongly encouraged to hold membership in E.D.A. and participate in its organization and activities in order to ensure that the decisions made within the group were

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid

⁵⁵⁰ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Toronto SIB, Division “O”, *Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Greece, Toronto, Ontario*, January 17, 1969, pg. 4.

⁵⁵¹ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Toronto SIB, Division “O”, *Communist Party of Canada, Greek Club, Toronto, Ontario*, July 18, 1969.

⁵⁵² Ibid

⁵⁵³ Ibid

influenced by the Greek cell. E.D.A. was recognized for its ability to fulfill the CPC's goal to gain traction, mobilize, and unite progressive Greeks who did not view themselves as communists. For the CPC, the collaboration could provide a lucrative space for recruitment, a point that led Cohen to say that the CPC "is not in competition with the E.D.A."⁵⁵⁴

The CPC's warming to E.D.A. was rooted in prudence and pragmatism. As the CPC leadership learned more of the divisions within the Greek left, it moved to shape and control the movement. In addition to encouraging CPC membership in E.D.A., Cohen wished to see all E.D.A. members join the CPC. Furthermore, Cohen strongly encouraged the execution of a plan to have the Greek cell along with E.D.A. get involved with trade union movements in Toronto. The CPC believed that ethnicity could be used as leverage to infiltrate sectors of the working-class where the communist influence was minimal or non-existent. One important industry where Greeks could help was the fur business, where a number of Greek immigrants were employed.⁵⁵⁵

Other spaces of collaboration included influencing the electoral process of the Greek Community of Metropolitan Toronto (GCMT) Executive.⁵⁵⁶ Some members felt that, despite their communist beliefs, their birth in Greece justified the participation and representation of a Beloyiannis member on the GCMT Executive.⁵⁵⁷ One member estimated that 400 votes would be cast at the election and felt that at least 120 votes would go towards the united front. In total,

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵⁵ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Toronto SIB, Division "O", *Communist Party of Canada, Greek Club, Toronto, Ontario*, July 18, 1969; Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, *Secret, Communist Party of Canada, Greek Club, Toronto, Ontario*, July 22, 1969.

⁵⁵⁶ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Toronto SIB, Division "O", *Communist Party of Canada, Greek Club, Toronto, Ontario*, July 10, 1969.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid

three members of the Greek cell planned to run for a GCMT position, Angelos Stephanidis, Thomas Antoniou, and Nick Demetriou.⁵⁵⁸ After much discussion however, a motion was passed that Beloyiannis would only field one candidate, Thomas Antoniou, while the rest of the support would go to the E.D.A. candidates. The decision was set into motion in order to increase the probability of infiltrating the decision making body of the larger GCMT organization, but also as a gesture of good faith towards E.D.A. which, it was argued, would be more sympathetic to Beloyiannis and the CPC in the future.⁵⁵⁹

A plan to infiltrate other Greek organizations in Toronto through elections was also set in motion in the 1969 elections of Rigas Feraios, a student led anti-junta organization. It was agreed that Beloyiannis run a slate of fourteen candidates for executive positions. The CPC decided that of the Beloyiannis members, Matheos Stavros would run for treasurer, Jacob Marinos for Secretary, while Thomas Antoniou, Christos Giannopoulos, Anthony Stephanidis, and two other Greek cell members would vie for executive positions. The desire to gain some influence over Rigas Feraios was twofold. First, the organization had a reputation as “one of the main important centres in the world for Greek resistance” and second, that it was a group from which “Andreas Papandreou had drawn his forces”.⁵⁶⁰ The move to get a Beloyiannis member on the Rigas Feraios executive ended up being successful with Thomas Antoniou becoming Secretary.

Another prospective idea was the formation of a lobby to put pressure on Ontario’s Legislative Assembly and Toronto’s municipal government. But, as Stephanidis argued “the

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid

⁵⁶⁰ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-24-48, Secret, *Communist Party of Canada, Metropolitan Toronto Executive Committee, Toronto, Ontario, 16 – 10 – 1969.*

proposed lobby consisting of 5 to 700 people demanding action against the Junta government would not unite under any given banner due to differing political ideologies.”⁵⁶¹ As an alternative, Norman Brudy proposed that an ad hoc committee of 5 to 7 people put pressure on their respective MPPs. Brudy also encouraged members of Beloyiannis to run in the 1969 municipal elections.⁵⁶² He “asked the comrades to let him know if there was anyone in the club [Beloyiannis] who would run as a ‘Progressive’ candidate”.⁵⁶³ Instead, the CPC used its Metropolitan Toronto Executive Committee (MTEC) to identify non-Greek candidates sympathetic to the Communist Party line. The MTEC compiled a list of candidates that were to be supported. In addition to John Sewell, a political activist who eventually became mayor from 1978 to 1980, the CPC executive threw its support behind Karl Jaffary, a candidate for alderman of Toronto Ward 7 – a position that he would win. An important point for the CPC was that Jaffary had shown great sympathy for Greece’s return to democracy, a fact that could be used as a bridge for collaboration between the politician and Beloyiannis members.⁵⁶⁴

Another avenue of organization was to publicise the junta’s atrocities in the English language media. The circulation of this information would demonstrate the incompatibility of the Greek regime with Canadian values. In addition to contributing to the international condemnation of the Greek dictatorship, it was hoped that this could contribute to the creation of political pressure on the Greek regime. While newspapers were the prime target, the CPC also hoped to circulate news of human rights violations on television. In order to help bring this to

⁵⁶¹ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-24-48, Toronto SIB, Division “O”, *Communist Party of Canada, Greek Club, Toronto, Ontario*, September 22, 1969.

⁵⁶² Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-24-48, Toronto SIB, Division “O”, *Communist Party of Canada, Greek Club, Toronto, Ontario*, September 29, 1969.

⁵⁶³ *Ibid*

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid*

fruition, the CPC reached out to Chandler Davis, who, Brudy noted, “appeared to be very interested in this idea.”⁵⁶⁵ Davis was an important ally in the campaign. As a professor, he had been fired from his position at the University of Michigan because of his ties to the Communist Party of America and his unwillingness to cooperate with the House Unamerican Activities Committee. Following this, Davis was sentenced to six months in prison and subsequently moved to Canada.

The desire to influence the broader community of Greeks in Toronto took on other forms as well. The CPC wished to strengthen its numbers and clout with more Greek immigrants by branching out into the community and providing those who had recently arrived with desperately needed social services in their native tongue. Also, the CPC encouraged members of the Greek cell to provide other Greeks with important work related information that was not necessarily communist in nature. Details of working life such as where and how one could find unemployment insurance and other services from the Canadian welfare state were a starting place.

Implementing the above measures had considerable obstacles. In the Cold War context, communism was a dirty word whose mere utterance inspired anxiety, fear, and skepticism. In response to this context, the Beloyiannis Club pushed for the formation of closed and secret units composed only of Greeks.⁵⁶⁶ Christos Giannopoulos, a unionized machinist by trade in the Canadian National Railway yard (located on Highway 7) and a member of Local 1252 of the

⁵⁶⁵ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-24-48, Toronto SIB, Division “O”, *Communist Party of Canada, Greek Club, Toronto, Ontario*, September 22, 1969, pg. 2.

⁵⁶⁶ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-10-17, Toronto SIB, Division “O”, *Communist Party of Canada, Greek Club, Toronto, Ontario*, January 6, 1969.

International Association of Machinists,⁵⁶⁷ believed that a clandestine arm of Beloyiannis could evade the long reach of the Greek police. Giannopoulos reasoned that this was necessary, offering the example of his brother who had been a member of the communist party in Greece and had been jailed prior to departing for Canada. Immediately following his release, he was found to be near death as a result of having contracted tuberculosis. Giannopoulos also feared that the pension his brother received from the Greek War League could be in jeopardy if it was known that he was a communist. While Giannopoulos noted that his brother was “prepared to give his life for Communism if need be”,⁵⁶⁸ the establishment of a covert group could help in attracting communist sympathizers who feared state discipline. Anthony Stephanidis supported the idea, affirming that he had been approached by several “comrades” who would only join the party under conditions of guaranteed anonymity. Being followed and blacklisted by the Greek Consulate or the Canadian government and fearing for the safety of family in Greece were all serious arguments in favour of a covert branch of Beloyiannis.

Initially, the CPC disagreed with this strategy. Although Brudy understood the need to sometimes form a closed club, he did not feel that a concern for losing a job, which was the reason he most often encountered, was justification for establishing such an organization. As well, Brudy was particularly adamant that another ethnic Greek club not be formed, arguing that there were “enough troubles with one club”.⁵⁶⁹ If members of Beloyiannis were to discover that such an organization existed, it would surely splinter rather than unite the Greek cell. As a compromise, Brudy promised Giannopoulos that he would consider the request provided that he could meet the potential members and gauge their concerns as legitimate. There were restrictions

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid

however. The first was that no one outside of the closed club know who the members were and secondly, that all of the membership would have to agree on the admission of newcomers.

The CPC's move bore fruit almost immediately. In August 1969, two Beloyiannis members met with Misha Cohen, who was an aide to CPC General Secretary and Alf Dewhurst, member of the National Executive Council,⁵⁷⁰ in order to seek the Party's authorization to organize a "Greek underground".⁵⁷¹ The movement towards a closed group was also supported by Anthony Stephanidis who by August 1969, had recruited seven other Greeks who insisted on anonymity. Stephanidis and Giannopoulos offered to lead this group because the potential newcomers had poor English skills.

Following the adoption of the new policy, Stephanidis attracted ten new additional members to the party in one month. These members were "the best Greeks possible," he noted. The comment referred to the constant bickering within Beloyiannis and the desire to see a higher caliber of activism. The new recruits, he argued, "are 'money' and perhaps expect something more than the party has at the moment." By creating a secret satellite organization, Stephanidis hoped to "raise the political standards" of the Greek party within the CPC. It "eliminate[s] some of the problems currently in existence – problems of political relations, political issues and differences of opinion along political lines." Overall, Stephanidis believed that the climate of the Greek club was not conducive to attracting new members, but most importantly, getting anything done. Therefore, it was "necessary to take measures to protect these new comrades because of

⁵⁷⁰ *Canada's Party of Socialism: History of the Communist Party of Canada, 1921 – 1976*. (Toronto: Progress Books, 1982).

⁵⁷¹ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-24-48, Secret, *Communist Party of Canada, Greek Club, Toronto, Ontario*, August 20, 1969.

relatives in Greece, employment, or even citizenship status.”⁵⁷² Ultimately, it was important for the communist message to be mediated through acceptable channels. In order to broaden the attraction to other Left leaning Greeks, Beloyiannis would need to demonstrate that it was the most progressive force for mobilization and the most likely to bring about real change.

By early 1970, notwithstanding much internal division, Beloyiannis’s growth in membership brought the club under heightened surveillance. The RCMP took note of Norman Brudy’s general report:

Greek Club – 32 Members – Very active in the Greek community – They recruited 22 members last year (1969) – This group is made up mostly of people under 35 years of age and 50 per cent were young workers and the rest were intellectuals in businesses – There are some difficulties in the club and they recently elected an executive for the 15th time in the past year. They are recognized as an important group by the Greek Communist Party and in the international Greek resistance movement.⁵⁷³

The influence of the Greek cell within the CPC was relatively strong when compared to other ethnic groups. The CPC’s Italian club, known as Gramsci, consisted of only seven inactive members.⁵⁷⁴ The Spaniards’ organization, the Spanish Communist Liberation Party, was not connected to the CPC, but to the Communist Party in Spain.⁵⁷⁵ While Beloyiannis took a more active approach to mobilization, Brudy was compelled to conclude to his peers within the MTEC that “political attention should be given to the Greeks”.⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷² Ibid

⁵⁷³ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-24-48, Secret, *Communist Party of Canada, Metropolitan Toronto Executive Committee, Toronto, Ontario, January 28, 1970.*

⁵⁷⁴ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-24-48, Tor to Ott, Secret, *Communist Party of Canada, Greek Club, Toronto, Ontario, March 18, 1970.*

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid; Also see Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-24-48, Tor to Ott, Secret, *Communist Party of Canada, Metropolitan Toronto Executive Committee, Toronto, Ontario, April 30, 1970, pg. 2.*

⁵⁷⁶ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-24-48, Tor to Ott, Secret, *Communist Party of Canada, Metropolitan Toronto Executive Committee, Toronto, Ontario, March 18, 1970.*

Given membership growth, mobilization, and the presence of Beloyiannis members in other Greek leftist associations, various forms of organization were envisaged. In July 1970, Beloyiannis placed Christos Giannopoulos at the helm in order to organize a “broad, progressive, democratic, Greek youth organization” in Toronto.⁵⁷⁷ In a meeting with Liz Hill of Toronto’s Young Communist League (YCL) and Alf Dewhurst, Giannopoulos summarized his ambitions for the Greek youth organization and requested the help of the CPC to provide general guidelines and suggestions for a constitution. Giannopoulos stated that there were fifteen young Greeks in Toronto who could also serve as a foundation for the eventual formation of a national youth club. The necessary prerequisite for such an endeavor, Giannopoulos noted, was a structure and a constitution reflecting democratic principles, “and not one of bourgeois democratic or social democratic basis.”⁵⁷⁸ Moreover, the organization would work towards goals more closely associated with conditions of Canadian life and not necessarily focus its activities on the fight to restore democracy in Greece. All agreed that the youth club should operate in the Greek language since most of the potential recruits were recently arrived immigrants.

The organization would also serve as an important node in an international youth network. While new to Toronto, the youth club would reflect the politics of the Lambrakis Youth Organization, which had branches in West Germany, Italy, and a number of other European sites.⁵⁷⁹ Following his death:

Lambrakis soon became the symbol of a pioneering movement that was created in early June 1963 and was named after him: the Democratic Youth Movement

⁵⁷⁷ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-24-48, Tor to Ott, Secret, *Communist Party of Canada, Metropolitan Toronto Executive Committee, Toronto, Ontario, August 13, 1970.*

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid*

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid*

Grigoris Lambrakis, later renamed “Lambrakis Youth,” or simply “Lambrakides.” The slogan among the youth of the time was that Lambrakis was still alive, “o Lambrakis Zei.” The letter Z, first initial of the word “lives on” in Greek, became common...as a symbol of the Lambrakis Youth.⁵⁸⁰

Giannopoulos assured Hill and Dewhurst that the organization would remain “our[s]” and although it would be associated with the Lambrakis movement, it would be under the control of the CPC.⁵⁸¹ Furthermore, the Lambrakis Youth had a constitution and agenda that was identical to the Communist Party of Greece, but it did not use communist language. This was to be a model for the youth organization in Toronto since, Giannopoulos argued, there would be no need for a separate organization if people wanted to join a communist association. Hill and Dewhurst agreed with the spirit of Giannopoulos’s proposal and offered the assistance of the CPC and the YCL. They also agreed that the youth organization had to maintain a politically neutral facade because as Dewhurst noted, “Membership should not be restricted to communists alone but to all honest democrats who could find a place in such an organization.”⁵⁸² To get the plan started, it was proposed that three members of Beloyiannis contact the Lambrakis Youth Organization in England for copies of their constitution. Afterwards, members of the CPC in Toronto could determine what the chief aims of the youth organization in Toronto would be.

In the spring of 1970, the activity of the Greek cell took on a new importance as Don Currie, central organizer of the CPC, attended a Beloyiannis meeting at the party’s office on Cecil Street. Currie began the meeting with the news that the CPC’s central executive committee had decided to establish a sub-committee that would work with immigrant workers in the Greek,

⁵⁸⁰ Kornetis, *Children of the Dictatorship*, pg. 19.

⁵⁸¹ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-24-48, Tor to Ott, Secret, *Communist Party of Canada, Metropolitan Toronto Executive Committee, Toronto, Ontario, August 13, 1970.*

⁵⁸² *Ibid*

Portuguese, Italian, and Spanish communities.⁵⁸³ The CPC saw a fertile ground for recruiting immigrant working-class individuals and promoting the interests of members who faced many forms of discrimination. To help with this agenda, Currie wanted the active and mobilized Greek group to begin to take on new and symbolically important initiatives within the CPC, the Greek community in Toronto, and the Canadian community at large.

The first initiative was the establishment of a CPC newspaper in the Greek language. While the CPC had *The Canadian Tribune* (begun in January 1940), a platform in Greek “was needed.”⁵⁸⁴ A Greek paper titled *Eleftheri Patrida* from London, England, was already being circulated by Beloyiannis. Each issue sold about 200 copies in Toronto and 400 copies elsewhere in the country.⁵⁸⁵ Still, the CPC thought that it would be best to establish a paper that also spoke about Canadian issues. Currie informed the Greek cell the CPC would start a fund raising campaign to assist with initial costs and training Greek journalists. In the meantime, he advised members of the Greek club to start by writing for *The Tribune* that focused on the situation in Greece and in Canada. In response “those present seemed to be impressed with the idea”.⁵⁸⁶

Currie’s second idea was the formation of a popular democratic Left that was recognizably communist and distinct from the other Greek leftist organizations in Toronto. This was also seen as a way to get beyond the internal divisions that were a constant source of tension

⁵⁸³ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-24-48, Tor to Ott, Secret, *Communist Party of Canada, Metropolitan Toronto Executive Committee, Toronto, Ontario, April 30, 1970.*

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid

⁵⁸⁵ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-24-48, Tor to Ott, Secret, *Communist Party of Canada, Greek Club, Toronto, Ontario, March 18, 1970*, pg. 2. There were even subscriptions to the paper outside of Toronto and Montreal including ten in Vancouver, London, Kitchener, and four subscriptions in Halifax.

⁵⁸⁶ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-24-48, Tor to Ott, Secret, *Communist Party of Canada, Greek Club, Toronto, Ontario, March 18, 1970.*

in Beloyiannis. While the Communist Party would lead this mass organization, Currie argued that “the Greek community would recognize [it] as a voice of communist opinion among the Greeks and differentiate it from other Greek groups.”⁵⁸⁷ The most important part of this process would be choosing a spokesman who would simultaneously hold a leadership position within the CPC. As Currie put it, “The CP of C needed a voice among the Greek people.”⁵⁸⁸ Additionally, the chosen person ought to, in the very near future, make a cross country tour in order to meet CPC representatives in Canadian cities where progressive Greeks were known to be living: “To date, the work within the Greek community was solidarity action with the anti-fascist forces in Greece and winning support for that. An effort should also be made for discussions on political issues in the Greek community in Canada, which were similar to problems faced by Canadian workers.”⁵⁸⁹

Despite Currie’s recommendation for a new course and the fact that the Greek arm of the CPC was the largest and most mobilized among the groups that it wished to influence (Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian), the club’s meetings and overall operation was plagued by deep derision and divisive politics. In June 1971 an RCMP officer recorded the sentiment of the CPC’s Alf Dewhurst, noting, “that the situation in the Belogiannis (Greek) Club is going from bad to worse and a new crisis has arisen.”⁵⁹⁰ The Greek club had reached political deadlock, holding regular meetings for two months in order to elect a new executive. Each meeting, according to RCMP files, “end[ed] up in arguments.”⁵⁹¹ Finally, a decision was made to elect

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸⁸ Ibid

⁵⁸⁹ Ibid

⁵⁹⁰ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-24-48, Tor to Ott, Secret, *Communist Party of Canada, N. Belogiannis Club, Toronto, Ontario*, June 24, 1971.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid

five committee members to liaison with MTEC and settle on next steps to take. The team consisted of five Greek members (including Christos Giannopoulos, Thomas Antoniou, and Anthony Stephanidis), Alf Dewhurst, and Gordie Massie, CPC central committee member.⁵⁹² The Greeks believed that Beloyiannis needed to disband in order to be rid of the trouble makers and allow those remaining to form a new Greek arm of the CPC. They argued that “Left sectarians” needed to be forced out, leaving only the “best” comrades.⁵⁹³ Antoniou added that the chief problem was that “the comrades are not sufficiently educated in Marxism and Leninism to cope with their problems”.⁵⁹⁴

The internal divisions that plagued the Beloyiannis Club would persist, much to the frustration of CPC leadership. After the fall of the military junta, Beloyiannis dispersed as it was once again safe to return to Greece. While many did return, others stayed behind and continued their work in collaboration with the CPC.

Conclusion

While Beloyiannis represented a small fraction of anti-junta activism in Canada, its efforts are part of a larger sequence of events that shows how the politicized immigrant contests national narratives that have typically dominated our understanding of the migration process. Migrants are both body and mind; while their physical bodies are in one place, their emotional,

⁵⁹² Gordon Massie has been difficult to find in sources related to the CPC. According to Wikipedia, Massie was a circulation manager for *The Canadian Tribune* (CPC newspaper) in the early 1970s and a sitting member on the CPC’s Central Committee. http://72.9.148.189/library/Gordon_Massie, accessed March 15, 2016.

⁵⁹³ Library and Archives Canada, RCMP Files, File A201100206_2012-10-10_14-24-48, Tor to Ott, Secret, *Communist Party of Canada, N. Beloyiannis Club, Toronto, Ontario*, June 24, 1971.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid

intellectual, and political spirit may operate in a distant geographical entity. The dominant mainstream myth in Canada that immigrants abandon their Old World ties and start to feel Canadian after their migration is contested by this chapter. Migrants are not monolithic in their beliefs and in their politics. Consequently, the space that they carve out in relation to other factions within their own ethnic group is contested, shared, and constantly re-negotiated.

The international Cold War context shaped the contours within which communism was allowed to operate. As the mindsets of Greek immigrants in Beloyiannis focused on political change in Greece, their counterparts in the CPC sought to reshape the Greek political imagination towards Canadian-centred organizing. Simultaneously, the interest of the Canadian state to contain political radicalism and thwart any effort to reorganize the economic system in Canada conflicted with the desires of Beloyiannis and the CPC. In short, the historical details in this chapter are an illustration of what the state deemed to be dangerous and what it found to be incongruent with its own imagination of a proper body politic; a perception that reflected anxieties of communist infiltration. While other immigrant groups faced similar treatment from Canadian officials dating as far back as the early-interwar period, this chapter works in tandem with the previous one to add a layer of understanding to this narrative. Indeed, international politics played an immense role in shaping ideas of subversion in Canada, but the country's internal politics also shaped who would be deemed a threat to national interests. In Toronto, communists were the main target. While the Greek cell did not enter into open conflict with the Canadian state, both sides used clandestine means in order to evade the other. Surveillance documents show that the state successfully infiltrated the CPC and gained an intimate knowledge

of how Greek communists wished to mobilize and how their Canadian counterparts used ethnicity for their own means.

The chapter highlights how immigrant political activity is shaped by both local and ethnic leaders. While a consciousness may exist in an immigrant community, it takes leaders to mould and manipulate that spirit into action. Beloyiannis's political consciousness, was simultaneously shaped by individuals in the CPC and the Greek cell itself. Interestingly, interaction between the two groups, one a subsidiary of the other, was not harmonious. As the CPC tried to encourage its Greek comrades to organize in a way that reflected Canadian realities, it grew increasingly frustrated with the pervasive and strong ties that Beloyiannis members displayed with Greece and Europe. Both the CPC and Beloyiannis tried to manipulate political space in Toronto in a way that suited their own imaginations.

Overall, this chapter has demonstrated that international and local influences in immigrant life refract political light in different ways and at different intensities. When the desires of the different actors in this chapter are considered, it is evident that through the lives of immigrants, the boundaries of Canada, down to its local urban spaces, become blurred constructs built of fluid components. The local scene in Toronto, the international Cold War context, and heightened political attention on Greece following the rise of the dictatorship each worked to shape the political consciousness of Greek immigrants in tangible ways.

CONCLUSION

Locales matters and environments shape the perceptions of movements. For a small group of Greek immigrants in Toronto and Montreal who wished to mobilize against the Greek dictatorship in Greece from 1967 to 1974, regional and international contexts governed their experience and shaped the contours of their activism. On the international stage, the Cold War influenced diplomatic relations between countries, but there were also serious implications for migrants journeying to Canada. While Greeks were ultimately permitted into Canada in large numbers, Cold War security concerns created the appropriate pretext for surveillance of some of them. In their local settings, the mobilization of Greek immigrants against the military dictatorship was influenced by prominent figures like Andreas Papandreou, but more particularly by the *zeitgeist* of the 1960s and broader social changes occurring in English and French Canada. In this collision of international and local contexts, vocal critics of the Greek state wished to shape imaginations of Greece and fashion a narrative of Greek identity that was antithetical to authoritarianism.

The responses to the *coup d'état* in Greece were transnational. The political activity of Greek migrants was focused on regime change in a nation other than the one they resided in. Their actions and identity were characterized by multi-directional flows of political and identity exchange. When events like the 1973 Athens Polytechnic uprising occurred, Greeks in Canada's anti-junta movement interpreted it as a political event to which they had to respond. In the entanglement of interests, a complex multifocal sense of identity was formed, best described by

the term translocalities.⁵⁹⁵ In essence the border of Greece became fluid, embodied by Greek migrants who worked exclusively for political change in their homeland. The Greek nation became a deterritorialized space and its politics became the focal point for pro-democracy activists living in Canada.

The individuals who resisted Greece's dictatorship are a tiny fraction of the overall migration from Greece to Canada, but the importance of the movement must not be lost. In academia and in popular Canadian consciousness, there exists a narrative framed as the "typical" Greek immigrant experience beginning with few skills, little money, and a variety of other hardships that usually ends with some degree of financial comfort and integration into Canadian life. If there is a statement that succinctly captures this idea, it was the response to a question posed by the author well before his long road to a Ph.D. began:

Christopher Grafos: "Dad, when you first arrived in Canada, did you ever get involved in political activism concerned with Greece?"

Peter Grafos: "Εμείς δουλεύαμε (We were [too busy] working)."

The underlying sentiment is that activism was not something readily possible for most Greek immigrants due to material constraints. Not only is this narrative supported by scholarly work, associated stereotypes are popularized by movies like *My Big Fat Greek Wedding* or even modern urban street festivals like Toronto's Taste of the Danforth, which commodify the food, folk traditions, and classical history of Greece. In both narratives, academic and popular,

⁵⁹⁵ Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

diversity within the Greek immigrant experience is most notably relegated to the region that migrants come from.

The actors in this study are not typical and are not representative of what most Greek immigrants experienced during the 1960s and 1970s. However, this should not be regarded as a problem. What this study shows is that there is diversity in the Greek immigrant narrative, but much of it has been swept under the rug; expunged from the collective memory of Greeks in Canada. Many other important topics have been glossed over in the historical record, including Greek workers, the experience of women, intermarriage, etc. The understanding of Greek immigrant politics is most closely associated with the Greek coffee house (Καφενείο), the exclusive institution for political discourse. But, the protagonists of this story demonstrate that some migrants sought to shape politics outside the homo-social Greek cafe. They even showed astuteness by inserting themselves into public discourse related to Greece. Their media campaigns and pursuit of engaging opinion makers such as academics, federal, provincial, and municipal politicians in Canada was unique to this group and to their class.

This study also demonstrates that immigrant homeland politics is shaped and driven by community elites even in the age of the Canadian welfare state. For historians of immigration in Canada, the findings are tantalizing. The availability of state welfare policies such as language training and employment aid blunted the mass attraction of identity politics. While Carmela Patrias shows that various forms of mutual aid pulled Hungarians into polarizing politicized ideological groups in the interwar period, the case of Greek immigrants presented here supports

her conclusion that social welfare policies changed the relationship between ethnic elites and the rank and file. As she explains, integration into Canadian society was aided by such programs:

The provision of unemployment insurance and family allowances offered a measure of social security to them [Hungarian immigrants], as to other Canadian workers. In addition to these social welfare measures, created for Canadians at large, more specific programs were initiated to assist immigrants. With the establishment of the Nationality Branch and the Committee on Cooperation in Canadian Citizenship within the Department of National War Services in 1942, the authorities for the first time actively sought to aid the integration of the foreign-born, or at least immigrants of European background, into Canadian society.⁵⁹⁶

In the postwar period, the development of state welfare dramatically lowered the allure of immigrant institutions. This should not be a surprise given that migration, with the exception of those who are forced to move, is driven by material concerns.

This study also emphasizes the theme of continuity of Old World institutions; most notably the Greek state, which sought to buoy the military dictatorship through sympathy and material support from its expatriate communities in Toronto and Montreal. The tactics of the Greek state, however, inspired more concern than compassion in the average Greek immigrant. In using its Greek consulates to inspire fear in Greek Canadian communities, the junta sought to discipline its population abroad. The Greek state may have had some success in arousing loyalty in Toronto and Montreal communities, however, it was not able to fully exercise its sovereignty and use legitimate state power in Canada. Consequently, the dictatorship resorted to clandestine means of intimidation. Anti-junta activists argued that the Greek Orthodox Church was another

⁵⁹⁶ Carmela Patrias, *Patriots and Proletarians: Politicizing Hungarian Immigrants in Interwar Canada*. (Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1994), pg. 231-232.

means by which the authoritarian regime asserted its influence abroad. The pulpit not only served the religious needs of the Greek Canadian community. In the cases of both the consulate and the church, it was not one group of immigrants wishing to exert influence on another group, but rather, another nation wishing to maintain its influence with its population abroad and perpetuate its own existence.

Greek immigrants themselves also wished to shape the narrative of homeland. In an era of profound political turmoil, perceptions of what did and ought to represent Greece became particularly salient. While many Greek immigrants stayed neutral, the ideological polarization of Greeks fostered a sustained re-evaluation of Greekness in Toronto and Montreal. In the struggle to define Greece through imagination and memory, pro-democracy sympathizers wished to vilify supporters of the junta and those who remained neutral on the subject. In times of political upheaval, immigrant imagination of homeland is a battleground. In the space of immigrant memory, there are winners and losers in addition to a purposeful fashioning of what gets remembered and what is forgotten. The politics of memory is a contested terrain. As the actions of organizations like the Committee for Restoration of Democracy in Greece, Makrygiannis, and even the Communist Party of Canada reveal, the fight to define the identity and memory of an immigrant group is calculated and often political. As one scholar explains, “it is surely the case that control of a society’s memory largely conditions the hierarchy of power; so that, for example, the storage of present-day information technologies, and hence the organization of collective memory through the use of data-processing machines, is not merely a technical matter

but one directly bearing on legitimation, the question of the control of ownership of information being a crucial political issue.”⁵⁹⁷

This dissertation highlights some important nuances of, broadly speaking, Canadian history and the history of immigration. The most important nuance is that Canada is far from monolithic. For scholars in either of the above fields, this is not an earth shattering conclusion. In fact, Canada’s regional diversity is almost a starting point for anyone seeking to understand the country’s past. However, local and regional studies often mute this point. It is through a collective portrait of scholarly works that a picture of Canada’s diversity is revealed. In immigration studies in particular, prejudices and negative perceptions of newly arrived immigrants are well documented, but the literature rarely takes a comparative approach to examine how the experience of the same migrant group has been shaped by regional diversity. In examining how the Canadian state perceived the similar anti-junta movements of Toronto and Montreal, this study shows that the contexts of Ontario’s and Quebec’s histories mattered. Commentaries of Third-World decolonization had a profoundly penetrative quality in many segments of Quebec society, which in the 1960s, increasingly came to see itself as a colonized space. Activists, leaders, and proponents of the Quiet Revolution also began to imagine Montreal as a colonized city. The public debate surrounding social and political power relations was a natural fit for Greeks that wished to condemn the unjustified seizure of the Greek state. Despite the fact that two-thirds of the Montreal’s population spoke French, the city’s wealthiest neighbourhoods, most powerful financial and educational institutions operated in English. The francophone majority, along with other ethnic and racial groups, were distanced from the centres

⁵⁹⁷ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pg. 1.

of power. Similar criticisms of wealth distribution, gender inequality, and social justice occurred in Toronto. Despite this, the perception of Montreal as an intellectual centre of radicalism prompted more pervasive surveillance of the city's anti-junta activities.

The surveillance of Greek immigrants speaks to an important question of whether or not there was a real threat. This conversation has endured in other ethnic and racial communities related to surveillance and internment; most notably of the Japanese, Italians, and Ukrainians. While full access to the documents is frustratingly unattainable because of redaction, it is possible to reach some tentative conclusions. Given that in the contemporary context Greek immigrants are seen to be successful in their integration into Canadian life, it may seem laughable that they were once seen as dangers to national security. What can be gleaned with certainty is that Greek ethnicity was not exclusively targeted as a danger. The potential of political radicalism combined with ethnic "otherness" however, did create a unique brand of threat that the Canadian state wished to contain. In Toronto, Greeks were targeted exclusively for their politics. In retrospect, there may not have been a serious threat from Greek immigrants, but context matters and in the era of the Cold War, communist containment was deemed to be sufficient grounds for investigation. We know that there were Greek communists and we know that they were active in recruiting their compatriots for the Communist Party of Canada.

In addition to these findings, this dissertation has opened some new avenues for further inquiry. For Greek immigrant studies, this analysis shows that there is an immense gap in our understanding of the Greek immigrant experience. The period 1967 to 1974 is an era filled with

interesting political activity, but in many ways it is a part of a much larger narrative of Greek immigrant activity that is not known. This research has shown that Greeks have taken part in many more aspects of Canadian life than what is currently found in the academic literature. It is clear, for example, that Greeks did get involved in labour unionism, but the degree and scale of their participation is not currently known. Chapter One documents Andreas Papandreou's support for labour activism in Toronto, but not the extent of his connection with co-nationals in labour. In 1983, Papandreou returned to Toronto as Prime Minister where he was welcomed by thousands of his compatriots. Papandreou's socialist party, PASOK, also had an office in the city's Greektown, which makes it plausible that there have been more Greek union activists than is currently known.

While it falls outside the scope of this project, the return migration of many Greeks following the fall of the dictatorship also deserves attention. While Papandreou is the best known example, his extraordinary profile makes drawing conclusions from his life unrepresentative. However, others in the anti-junta movement returned to Greece and may have had a hand in shaping Greece's national politics. The connection between Canada and Greece's modern political life is virtually non-existent in historical inquiry.

In Canadian immigration studies, this dissertation highlights the use of Canadian cities as spaces of resistance to foreign governments. The Greek anti-junta movement is one of several instances where political mobilizations in Canada sought to influence change in another nation-state. While many studies document how immigrant community institutions responded to the

everyday pressures of migration, academic examination of transnational politics has only recently gained some traction.⁵⁹⁸ Understanding Canadian urban environments as transnational political space may go a long way in helping us understand how local and national borders shape the lives of transient individuals. Their lives challenge national narratives or those of the nation-state as a contained space. In what national history does the anti-junta activism covered in this project belong?

The foundations of this project were laid when conducting research for an undergraduate paper on the Greeks of Canada. The experience was truly disheartening. Not only was there a dearth of academic material on the topic, but one was forced to rely on anecdotal information that was largely teeming with stereotypes that reinforced how Greeks have historically been perceived. Stories of large circle dancing, foreign food, and large difficult-to-pronounce names formed the dominant narrative. That experience compelled a young undergraduate student to attend graduate school in the hopes of contributing to a more informed historical narrative of the Greek immigrant experience. In researching and writing this study, many historical gems revealed themselves and as most historians can attest, this is a thrill that has produced endless bounty.

The activities of the Greeks and others who mobilized against the dictatorship in Greece between 1967 and 1974 in Toronto and Montreal have, for the most part, been erased from the

⁵⁹⁸ I would like to call attention to the work of Gilberto De Oliveira Fernandes, "Of Outcasts and Ambassadors: The Making of Portuguese Diaspora in Postwar North America" (PhD diss., York University, 2014); monograph is currently in print. For work on Chilean activism, see, Francis Peddie, *Young, Well-Educated, and Adaptable: Chilean Exiles in Ontario and Quebec, 1973 – 2010*. (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2014).

collective memory of Greeks in Canada. While their work was important, they have been drowned out as a consequence of their small numbers. Their political activity has also been silenced because it lies outside the positive aspects of memory that immigrant communities tend to venerate. In the project of multiculturalism in Canada, food, dance, and language are proper ways to honour one's heritage; it is what good immigrants do. But political activism is outside the boundaries and for many who wish to show that their immigrant community has integrated into Canadian life, popular political resistance presents a blemish on the group's collective historical consciousness. Not only is this true of Greek immigrants, but a more contemporary example exists. In 2009, when Tamils living in Toronto flooded onto the city's Gardiner Expressway, a major traffic artery of the downtown core, public opinion chastised the group for not leaving their homeland politics behind them. In a city that takes pride in their multiculturalism, public outrage was a clear expression that displaying one's ethnic heritage has its acceptable limits.

For Greek Canadian history, this presents a danger that must be resisted. The community is not monolithic and students and scholars should take the task of highlighting this fact very seriously. More importantly, understanding that Greek immigrants did not exist in silos - they worked with, spoke to, went to school with, argued with, and even dated people outside of their ethnicity - is fundamental for a more informed picture of their experience in Canada. The time is ripe to bring out of the margins of history the many Greek Canadians who do not fit the convenient narratives constructed by and for multicultural ideologues. They deserve better.

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