

TORY TERROR IN GREECE

By KOSTAS KARAYORGHIS

Kostas Karayorghis is the editor of the Greek Communist newspaper, "Rizospastis," published in Athens. He has been a leader of the Greek resistance movement, fought in many of its battles against the Germans, and was a correspondent for his paper at the San Francisco Conference.

THE nightmare of the Polish problem has been lifted from the new Europe and a path has been opened to the Polish people to settle their own problems through free elections. The reactionaries of both hemispheres who protected the insolent London Poles have, therefore, suffered a defeat of major importance. There remains now two other areas of the Continent where internal conditions are a source of contamination not only to their own peoples but to Europe as a whole—Spain and Greece. The case of Spain may be considered "natural," inasmuch as fascism there was fed by Hitler and Mussolini with the full cooperation of Great Britain and France during the days of "non-intervention." But such a fantastic regime as that imposed on my heroic country—a country that offered total national resistance—constitutes a reward unexpected and unprecedented in the records of the present democratic and anti-fascist Europe.

Greece was the first small country to resist. It fought for months, to the world's amazement, on the Albanian war front and during the Greco-Italian war, and if it finally yielded for the moment, it did so before the mechanized legions of Hitler. In courage and sacrifice the resistance of the Greek people has had a ten-fold meaning, if one remembers that it came after years of dictatorship during which the King and Metaxas had attempted to undermine the people's material and moral foundation. It was to be expected that leading military and political figures of the Metaxas regime would become the quislings of the Germans. And Greece has paid a heavy price for the triple occupation of the Germans, Italians and Bulgarians. About one million, out of a total population of eight million, perished from hunger, disease and execution. Fourteen hundred towns and villages were burned by the conquerors. That was the cost the Greek

people paid in order to establish the broadest movement of national resistance on an all-nation, all-peoples scale. The resistance spread to every corner of the country. While it was passive in the beginning, it became active as the days went by and finally burst forth into armed struggle.

One characteristic of Greek resistance has been its mass quality. It has expressed itself in demonstrations, mobilizations of all kinds, strikes involving not only workers but also professionals, scientists, intellectuals and artists. These activities had a national revolutionary significance.

Another characteristic of the Greek resistance movement has been the very large participation in it of women. It was not merely a passive participation but one that was full, active and even armed. Women in the EAM, the resistance movement, numbered 500,000. Of the National Organization of Youth, part of the resistance forces, forty-five percent were girls. The participation of Greek women in the resistance struggle is a brilliant epic and many pages of this epic are written in blood.

In addition to a vigorous guerrilla movement in the mountains—a movement which in the last months of the occupation found 70,000 armed men in the ELAS, 12,500 in the National Citizens' Guard and twice as many

semi-armed reserve formations throughout the country—a regular military movement of resistance developed within the cities and primarily in Athens and Piraeus. Whole battles were fought, especially in 1944, in the streets and squares of these two areas. Whole city blocks were defended against the Germans and the quislings inch by inch, and freed. Hundreds of resistance fighters died in the battles of the Athens streets.

It is well known that four-fifths of the country was liberated as early as 1942-43 by the guerrilla forces. In these liberated provinces there was established a Free Greek regime through democratic elections in which men and women from eighteen years of age and up voted—a regime with full state functions, administrative, judicial, educational and religious. This Free Greece was governed by the Provisional Government of the Mountains, the National Council of the Hellenes, and a provisional Chamber of Deputies elected by 1,800,000 Greeks not only in the liberated areas but in the enslaved areas as well.

The fact is that by the autumn of 1944 Greece had been liberated by our forces. The appearance of the Russians in the Balkans and the Anglo-American air attacks made the continued occupation of the Germans in Greece difficult, but the general attacks of the guerrillas forced them to flee sooner than they planned and instead of burning and pillaging and killing as they customarily did when they retreated terrific damage was inflicted upon them.

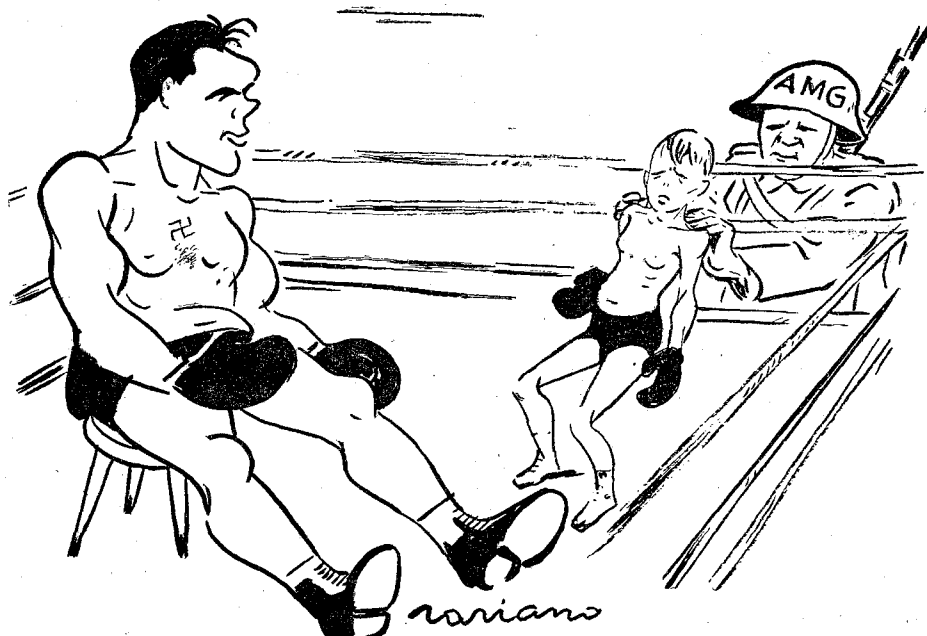
The British armies did not engage the enemy in a single battle. The British landed days after the Germans fled. And an American correspondent graphically described that British landing in Piraeus as "touristic."

THE Greek people naturally expected to attain, together with their national liberation, political liberation. Yet just the opposite has happened. Greece today is experiencing merely a new phase of the political conditions which prevailed during the Metaxas and the occupationist regimes.

In the last year of occupation and in the first weeks after liberation, the



George.



News Item: Max Schmeling to reeducate German youth, by arrangement with AMG.

political evolution of Greece was moving in the same direction as that of most other European countries. The determination of the EAM to solve internal problems and the question of government through the people and only through the people led to its conciliatory attitude and the formation of the Government of National Unity and the self-dissolution of the Provisional Government of the Mountains.

The Government of National Unity was led by an unreliable political figure, an abject servant of the British Tories—George Papandreou. Nevertheless, it represented all political parties and it could have paved the way to early, free elections. Indeed, the situation was moving in that direction when the National Unity Government arrived in Athens after the liberation of Greece. But as in Belgium, in Italy, and previously in Yugoslavia and in Poland, the Greek people ran into the terrible and arbitrary obstacle of the British Tories. And in Greece the British were more cynical and irreconcilable than in any other country.

What would be more reasonable than for the British command to accept the offer of the ELAS, the EAM's fighting arm, to continue—after the liberation of Greece proper—to fight against the Germans in Crete, the Dodecanese, and Milos Island; to continue the struggle on the Italian and Yugoslav fronts until the end of the war? Yet the British High Command not only rejected this offer but demanded, together with the Greek reactionaries, the dissolution of the ELAS. The EAM, hoping to clear the way to a free plebiscite with-

out internal disturbances, accepted the dissolution under the condition that all voluntary units of the praetorian Royal Guards, which were formed abroad, also be dissolved. Papandreou himself and the whole Government of National Unity agreed to this dissolution—but General Scobie disagreed. He demanded, in the form of an ultimatum, the dissolution of the ELAS—without the dissolution of the Royal Guards. It was also demanded by the British that Papandreou stay in power, in spite of his resignation.

It is not the fault of the Greek people that the British Tories decided so lightly to write in the streets of indomitable Athens the most disgraceful page of British military history. The Greek people were obliged to perform their bitter duty against such "allies." Sometime the incomparable epic of the thirty-three-day struggle of the Athenian people and the six-week struggle of the whole people of Greece against British arbitrariness will be written in detail. In the whole history of people's struggle there is no example of such battle, fought by an ill-armed and hungry people against three divisions with scores of airplanes, heavy artillery and naval support.

B RITISH intervention in December had no relation whatever to military honor. But the regime established by the English in Greece after December had also no relation whatever to political honor. The Varkiza agreement, the signing of which was so necessary to the EAM as well as to the British, could have constituted a point of de-

parture for a normal political life in Greece. But that agreement, which has been fully observed by the EAM, has been for the Greek reactionaries and the British Tories, who maintain them in power, nothing but a mask.

The whole movement of national resistance is under persecution. The pretext used is that of "moral responsibility" for alleged criminal offenses. In this way the British and Greek reactionaries drove from the University of Athens the President of the Provisional Government of the Mountains, Professor Svolos. Under this pretext six bishops belonging to the EAM are being persecuted. In this way 30,000 persons have been arrested, of whom 15,000 are still in prison. Thus chauvinistic and fascist persecutions have been initiated against the Macedonian Slavs, who were compelled to find asylum in Yugoslav territory. Thus began the fantastic campaign against all northern neighbors of Greece for territory—but not against Britain, which holds the Greek island of Cyprus; and not against reactionary Turkey, which holds eastern Thrace.

But such a situation as that prevailing in Greece is in full contradiction to the whole political and moral basis of the war as crystallized in the Atlantic Charter and in the decisions of the Moscow and Teheran conferences. It is, above all, in contradiction to the spirit and the letter of Crimea, which demands categorically *democratic and anti-fascist* provisional governments for every European country, that all peoples may have the freedom to choose their governments through really free elections.

It is absolutely inconceivable that there can be any serious discussion of moral principles of this terrible war which has just ended in Europe and continues in Asia, which has cost and is costing fantastic sacrifices in human blood, without the Greek problem being solved in the way that the Polish and Yugoslav problems were solved. The meeting of the Big Three in Germany cannot have any meaning and cannot bring deeper harmony with the Atlantic Charter if it does not solve any pending situation which was left over from the conference of Crimea. Such a crying and painful question is, above all others, the Greek problem. Of course, there is fear that Mr. Winston Churchill may be "ashamed" to put the question before the conference (if he survives the British elections), but neither President Truman nor Marshal Stalin have any reason to be ashamed.

HOW LONG WILL FRANCO STAY?

By DAVID McKELVY WHITE

"The liberation of Spain from the yoke of the fascist reactionaries is not the private affair of the Spaniards, but is the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind." Joseph Stalin—Oct 16, 1936.

THE correctness of Stalin's early judgment of the issues at stake in Spain has by now been established beyond any possible question. The world has paid in mountains of gold, in millions of lives, in literally countless and untold suffering for the betrayal of the Spanish people.

Spain was the last warning before the deluge, the last opportunity to escape the blood-bath through which we are yet struggling. We did not heed the warning; we did not seize the opportunity. Instead, we continued, we still continue to ignore the most elementary and basic lessons of Spain. In the nine terrible years that have passed since the Spanish people first rose in armed defense of their freedom and independence, we have still not learned to distinguish between our friends and our enemies. And until this simple lesson is learned and our policy is adjusted accordingly, we shall continue to pay and pay heavily.

It is a simple lesson because with every day throughout these nine years it has become clearer that Franco is a fascist and that his Falangist regime is a fascist regime. With every day it has become more obvious that Franco Spain always has been and remains today a determined enemy of our country, of everything we believe in and stand for.

All of this has become so obvious that no one any longer even bothers to deny it. Yet State Department policy toward Franco continues stubbornly to be one of outrageous and Munichite appeasement. What are the reasons for this strange state of affairs? Is the "excuse" that there is as yet no clearly-defined, democratic substitute for Franco?

This is a hedging sort of argument that one is often confronted with. And, indeed, all friends of Spain, all supporters of the total wiping out of fascism, look forward hopefully to the early coalescing of Spanish Republican forces around a government-in-exile led by Dr. Juan Negrin. But—most fortunately—we did not wait for similar guarantees with regard to the other Axis countries. And this is surely a shameful

"excuse" for our continued support of the most important and dangerous fascist government surviving today in Europe.

Or is our policy to be explained by sheer neglect of attention to the question? Partly so, no doubt. Our energies have been largely absorbed by other problems, problems that seemed more pressing, more immediately important. Yet the Spanish question has never been dead in this country and, other things being equal, the steady pressure of even limited groups and forces would by now have had some effect on our policy.

Has Franco, then, strong support in the United States? Certainly he has, even though this support is no longer so open as it once was. Powerful circles, working in and through the State Department, have no more affection for democracy in Spain than in Greece, Italy, Belgium or anywhere else, including the United States. But these forces represent only a tiny minority in our country. Far more than their number is already represented in the steadily continuing, the steadily increasing support given through the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refu-

gee Committee to the suffering Spanish exiles in France and Mexico and throughout the world.

Now that the Nazis have been overthrown (with the important exception of those who have found refuge in Spain and through Spain in Argentina), now that Europe's house is being put in order and the great task of political and economic reconstruction is under way, there can be no question that the problem of Falangist Spain presses for an immediate solution. The Veterans of the Lincoln Brigade and other groups and people vitally concerned with the Spanish question have always pointed to the impossible anomaly of a fascist Spain in a free Europe.

Furthermore, the action of the San Francisco Conference in barring Franco Spain from membership in the World Security Organization opens new vistas and possibilities for the anti-Franco struggle. The action taken there was unanimous and included the expressed agreement of our delegation. It was not only world opinion, it was also American opinion that forced the reluctant hand of our State Department. Continued American recognition of a regime publicly branded as fascist by all the United Nations is no longer defensible from any point of view.

ALL things point, therefore, to a broad and energetic campaign for an honest and democratic policy toward Spain. On July 3, Congressman John Coffee introduced a new resolution (HR-312) in the House of Representatives. This resolution, calling for "immediately breaking all diplomatic and commercial relations with the present fascist government of Spain," must be the focal point of this campaign. And the logical organization to sponsor and organize the campaign is the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, whose chairman is Bishop Lewis O. Hartman of Boston.

The offices of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom are in New York, at 55 West 42nd Street, but chapters are also being built in other cities, one having recently been organized in Chicago. The American Committee has embarked on a nation-wide petition drive for a million signatures in support of the Coffee resolution and is planning other activities directed to-

