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AIMS :

(1) To rebuild the traditional friendship between Great Britain and Greece on the basis of the establishment of democracy, which depends on the achievement in Greece of:—

(*a*) A general amnesty for all political prisoners.

(*b*) Fair elections.

(*c*) The restoration of trades union and other civil liberties.

(*d*) The suppression of armed terrorism and the trial and punishment of collaborators.

(2) To organise the sending of relief to imprisoned Greek democrats and their dependents, and to the dependents of those who died in the fight for democracy.

(3) To enlighten the Greek public about the situation in Britain today and to promote cultural relations and mutual understanding between the two countries.

To implement these aims, we hope to organise large public meetings and lectures and to publish pamphlets and bulletins. All this costs money, and we therefore appeal to you to support us by sending as large a donation as you can afford.

Minimum membership fee is 5/-, which will include the monthly journal " Greek News."

For Speakers and further particulars please write to the Secretary (temporary address), c/o Hannen Swaffer, 8 St. Martin's place, London, W.C.2.

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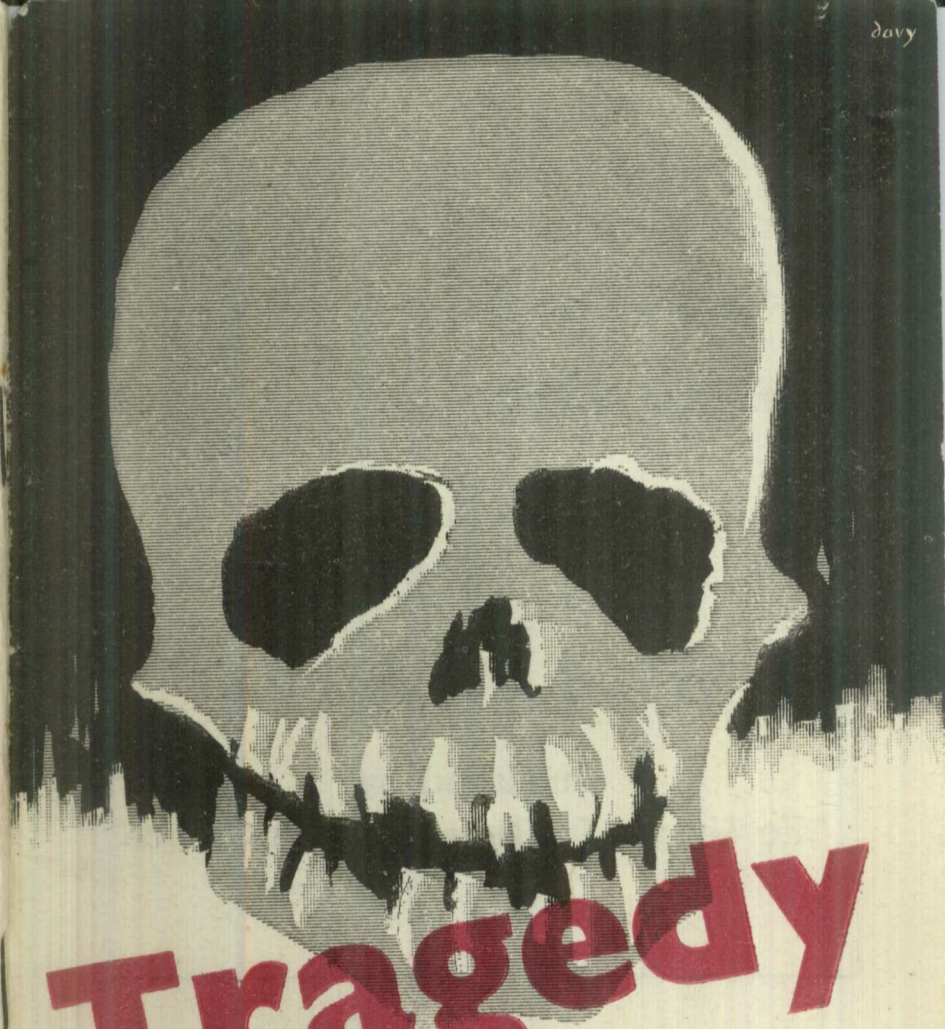

Tragedy IN GREECE

1946

An eye-witness report by

Norman DODDS, M.P.
Stanley TIFFANY, M.P.
Leslie SOLLEY, M.P.

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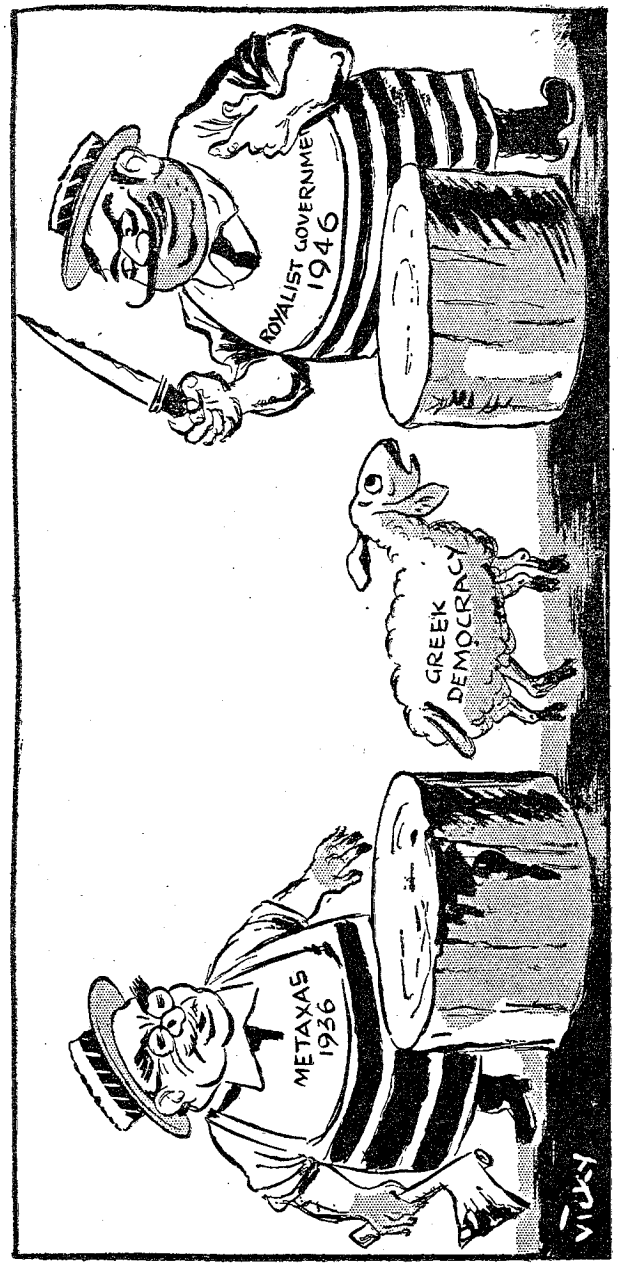


"You may now change your butcher."
(With acknowledgments to the "News Chronicle")

Tragedy in Greece

CHAPTER ONE. **INTRODUCTORY**

SECTION I.—**THE DELEGATION**

The British *League for Democracy in Greece* had for some time been corresponding with the *Pan-Hellenic Union of Democratic Associations* in Athens about methods of furthering the common aims of the two bodies.

In April the League received an invitation from General Othoneos, President of the Union of Democratic Associations and a former Premier and former Commander-in-Chief of the Greek Army, for a small delegation of British M.P.'s to visit Greece as guests of his organisation. The League gladly accepted, and three members of the Executive Committee—Mr. N. N. Dodds (Member for Dartford), Mr. L. J. Solley (Member for Thurrock) and Mr. S. Tiffany (Member for Peterborough)—were nominated to go, together with Mrs. Diana Pym, the secretary of the League, who acted as secretary to the Delegation.

Before our departure we knew of the wide support for the Union of Democratic Associations and their broad composition, but our personal contact with them in various parts of Greece raised them still further in our estimation. Representatives of the Right—both British and Greek—assured us that they were "Communist" (a term we soon learned to recognise as describing all who were not monarchist). We found, however, that they were not a political party, but a meeting ground for all progressive movements and individuals, with middle class and professional elements predominating, although EAM and Communists were freely admitted. An idea of the composition of the Union may be gathered from the elections to the Executive Committee for the Athens-Piræus Area, which comprises 60 Associations. Only one Communist was among the 25 elected, which included Mr. Petmetzas, a former Minister of the Sofoulis Liberal and Centre Government, and Mr. Demitrios Gonatas, former High Court Judge and brother of the present Minister of Communications. Twenty-five former Venizelist Liberal Deputies are members of the Associations, and large numbers of non-party democrats, such as Colonel Tsimikalis, whom we met on our first night in Greece.

On Saturday, April 28, an official reception by the Union was

given in our honour in Athens. Among those present, all of whom are associated with the Union, were: *J. Sofianopoulos,* ex-Foreign Minister; *Petmezas,* ex-Under Secretary of the Press; *Peltekis,* ex-Minister of the Mercantile Marine; the *Bishops of Kozani* and *Ilias; Generals Othoneos, Grigoriadis, Hadjimihalis, Sarafis, Mandakas* and *Skandalis; Admiral Yiannicostas;* and *Professors Kokkalis* (Medicine), *Angelopoulos* (Economics), and *Kallitsounakis* (Economics). The above list of names indicates the breadth of membership and standing of the Union.

We arrived in Athens on Friday, April 26, and left on Thursday, May 9. We did not confine our activities merely to Athens and the surrounding country. Tiffany and Solley examined conditions at Patras, Volos and Larissa; and Dodds, accompanied by Mrs. Pym, at Salonika and in Macedonian villages covering a wide area.

Wherever we went, we were asked to receive representative delegations of trade unionists, peasants, professional men, political parties, etc., and were presented with voluminous dossiers containing detailed information as to terroristic and anti-democratic activities. We were almost invariably asked to investigate every allegation personally. This was quite impossible. But we chose a number of cases for personal investigation, and many of the interviews we describe were the result of this. We were careful in examining witnesses not to "lead" them, and where necessary submitted them to a thorough cross-examination. Where several witnesses spoke of the same event, we questioned each separately, not in the hearing of the others, thus ensuring that we were not being deceived by a story concerted for our benefit.

We are satisfied, as the result of our investigations, of the essential truth of the allegations made to us.

We very much regret that the exigencies of air travel necessitated cutting a day off our schedule, and therefore omitting proposed interviews with UNRRA and the British Economic Mission. We are therefore conscious that references to economic conditions in the report are rather slight.

We found that the Right called everyone Left of, and including, Sofoulis, "Communists," and everyone Right of him "Nationalists," while the Left called everyone Right of Sofoulis "Monarcho-Fascists," and everyone Left of him "Democrats."

In order to avoid confusion, we have used the terms Right, Centre and Left, and set out below which parties we include in each category.

	PARTIES	ORGANISATIONS
RIGHT		
Monarchist	Tourkovassilis	*Existing*
"	Dimitratos	X-ites
"	Populist Party	"Battalions of King George II"
"	National Liberals (Gonatas)	SAN (Military League)
	Nationalists (Zervas)	Reformist trend in GCL (Makris)
EPE (National Union)	Democratic Socialist (Papandreou)	*Former*
	"Unifying" (Cannelopoulos)	EDES (Zervas Resistance Army dissolved 12.2.45)
	Liberal (S. Venezelos)	PAO (quisling Macedonian organisation)
CENTRE	Liberals (Sofoulis)	*Existing*
	Progressives (Kafandaris)	None
		Former
		EKKA (Resistance Army dissolved 12.2.45)
LEFT	Republican Left (Sofianopoulos)	*Existing*
	ELD Socialists (Svolos)	EPON (EAM Youth)
	Left Liberals (Grigoriadis)	GCL (Greek Confederation of Labour)
EAM COALITION	Democratic Union	*Former*
	Radical Democrats	ELAS (Resistance Army dissolved 12.2.45)
	AKE (Agrarians)	
	SKE (Socialists)	
	KKE (Communists)	

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

EA (National Mutual Aid—the Red Cross of the Resistance).

The Pan-Hellenic Union of Democratic Associations (Leader, General Othoneos). Open to all Democrats.

SECTION II.—DIARY OF THE DELEGATION

Friday, April 26: Arrived in Athens by plane. Met by General Othoneos and a delegation from the Pan-Hellenic Union of Democratic Associations.

Friday, April 26: 5 to 7 p.m.—Reception at offices of the Union of Democratic Associations.
9.30 p.m.—Kalithea Police Station (No. 11), to investigate arrests.

Saturday, April 27: 10.30 a.m.—Interview with Sofianopoulos.
12.30 p.m.—Visited Hadjicosta Jail.
3 p.m.—Visited Partsalides—EAM.
4.30 p.m.—Solley and Mrs. Pym visited the G.C.L. (Greek T.U.C.).
Dodds and Tiffany went to Piræus to investigate a case of beating-up.
6 p.m.—General Othoneos—family party.

Sunday, April 28: Interview with the ex-Nomarch (Provincial Governor) of Boeotia—Mr. Kurassis.
6 p.m.—Official Public Reception by the Union of Democratic Associations.

Monday, April 29: Dodds and Mrs. Pym went to Piræus and visited the Seamen's Federation. Went to Salonika by boat with Theos (Greek Trade Union leader). Solley and Tiffany went to Patras.

Diary of N. N. Dodds and Mrs. Pym

(April 30 to May 5)

Tuesday, April 30: Arrived in Salonika. Met T.U. Delegations at the Labour Centre (Trades Council).
6 p.m.—Interviewed Mr. Kottas, Governor of Northern Macedonia.
Concert and firework display given by the Trades Council.

Wednesday, May 1: Spoke at the Salonika May Day Demonstration. Visited Police Station No. 8, where three men had been arrested for wearing ELAS badges.
3 p.m.—Interviewed British Consul.
7 p.m.—May Day Concert.

Thursday, May 2: 8.30 a.m.—Visit to office of the E.L.D. Socialists.
9 to 11 a.m.—Visit to office of the Union of Democratic Associations.

Thursday, May 2 (*continued*): 11 a.m.—Tour of town and of Women's Prison.
4 to 7 p.m.—Met delegations from villages, etc.
8 p.m.—Attended the General Meeting of the Democratic Associations.

Friday, May 3: 11 a.m.—Visited the British Police Mission. Dodds visited No. 10 Police Station and toured Macedonian villages.
6 p.m.—Mrs. Pym had interview with the Left Liberals.
7 p.m.—Interview with representatives of Women's Organisations.

Saturday, May 4: Visited Langada; saw the smashed premises of the Agrarian Party, a Colonel of Artillery interviewed, met local Royalists, visited village of Sohos.
11 p.m. to 1 a.m.—Visited the British Consul, Police Mission, etc.

Sunday, May 5: Farewell Reception organised by the Executive of the Union of Democratic Associations. Investigated case of a T.B. patient who had been beaten.
Flew to Athens.

Diary of L. J. Solley and S. Tiffany

(April 29 to May 5)

Monday, April 29: 5 to 10 p.m.—Solley and Tiffany attend trial of ELAS heroes at Special Court, and have interview with President of the Court.
Interview with Mr. Saghias, Populist Deputy for the Region.
10 p.m.—Solley and Tiffany have dinner with the 15 Defence Counsel.
11.30 p.m.—Solley and Tiffany visit Patras Police Station, and investigate arrest and beating-up of a trade-unionist.

Tuesday, April 30: Received a deputation from the Agrarian Party in Patras.
Visited Patras Trades Council and met T.U. delegations.

Tuesday, April 30 (*continued*): Returned to Athens by car.
Noted behaviour of Royalist soldiers at a wayside café.

Wednesday, May 1: Spoke at Athens May Day Demonstration. Then went to Peristeri to investigate a shooting incident.

Thursday, May 2: Visited Larissa by car.

Friday, May 3: Received delegations. Dinner organised by the Union of Democratic Associations, Left Liberals, Republican Left, Agrarians, ELD Socialists, Communist Party, the President of the Trades Council, the President of the Co-operatives, and professional men.

Saturday, May 4: Breakfast with three local M.P.s and ex-Premier Canellopoulos. Visited Volos.

Sunday, May 5: Received delegation from Athens EPON (Democratic Youth).
Interview with Loulis, President of EA (Resistance Red Cross).

DIARY OF REUNITED DELEGATION

Monday, May 6: 10.30 a.m.—It was reported that a Hospital for Resistance Fighters had had notice to close within 24 hours.
12 noon.—Visited British Embassy.
5 p.m.—Mrs. Pym met representatives of the League of Greek Women.
10. p.m. to 1.30 a.m.—Interviewed Sir Charles Wickham.

Tuesday, May 7: 10.30 a.m.—Visited the Hospital for Resistance Fighters that was closed down.
3 p.m.—Interviewed ex-Premier Sofoulis.
5 p.m.—Attended a reception organised by EA.
8 p.m.—Attended a Reception given by Sofianopoulos, ex-Foreign Minister.

Wednesday, May 8: 11 a.m.—Interviewed Zachariadis, leader of the Communist Party.
1.30 p.m.—Interviewed Premier Tsaldaris.
3 p.m.—Interviewed Professor Svolos,

Wednesday, May 8 (*continued*): ELD Socialist leader.
5 p.m.—Interviewed S. Theotokis, Minister of Public Order.
7 p.m.—Attended a reception given by Professor Angelopoulos.

Thursday, May 9: The three M.P.s left for London by air.

DIARY OF MRS. PYM

Thursday, May 9: Addressed a Delegate Congress of Athens Democratic Associations.

Friday, May 10: Interviewed an employees' delegation from Piræus Electric Co.
Visited the Health Division of UNRRA.
Interviewed Mr. Pistolakis, former President of the Greek American Council.

Saturday, May 11: Visited the Blue Cross Hospital in Syngrou Street.
Interviewed ex-detainees from the African Camps.
Visited Professor Kokkalis and the EA Hospital Committee.

CHAPTER TWO. **THE TERROR**

SECTION I.—**FIRST INCIDENT**

We realise that the vendetta survives in many areas and that violence between Left and Right factions is bound to, and does, occur. What really shocked us was the role of the Gendarmerie in this. Not only did they not maintain law and order and punish wrongdoers, but they were actually taking the lead in beatings-up and terror. Their victims were almost invariably democrats. No Leftist we met had any confidence that he could obtain justice from the gendarmerie and the courts; what surprised us was that more of them had not taken the law into their own hands. If a Rightist was murdered, arrests of democrats were made for miles around; if a Leftist was murdered, the assassins frequently remained at liberty and armed.

Within a few hours of our arrival in Athens, we were approached in a restaurant by a messenger who told us that two young men had been arrested, beaten, and taken to Police Station No. 11 in the Kalithea district for distributing leaflets advertising a meeting of the Democratic Associations, at which we were to speak on the following Sunday. We immediately went to the

police station and asked the officer in charge what had really happened. In the police station portraits of King George of the Hellenes and Mr. Churchill were prominently displayed. We later found that this form of decoration was almost standard in Greek police and gendarme stations and prisons.

The officer in charge told us that the two young men, who were members of the Democratic Association, had been arrested because they were collecting subscriptions for the Association in private premises (a shoemaker's shop). We enquired if this was against the law, as the Associations themselves were legal, and were informed that the local police chief had made an order for his district forbidding the collection of subscriptions except at the central office of the organisations because he had received complaints from non-members that they were being canvassed for donations. He said that this order had been conveyed to a specially summoned meeting of the presidents of the local "Communist" organisations. These turned out to be the Democratic Association and the EA (the Red Cross of the Resistance Movement). Both of them are predominantly non-Communist and include a large representation of the democrats of the Centre. The President, a regular army colonel who belonged to no political party, later told us that he had never been informed of the police order forbidding collections in members' homes, and that the allegation that there had been a specially summoned, or any, meeting of the local presidents was totally false.

After prolonged questioning of the arrested man, the police chief, and the president of the Kalithea Democratic Association, we elicited the following facts:

The two young men were out collecting subscriptions for the Democratic Associations and distributing leaflets for the meeting which we were to address. The one with the collecting book was arrested and the other ran to inform Colonel Tsimikalis, the president of the Association. While the colonel was telephoning the police chief, three uniformed policemen entered and dragged the young man out, and started beating and kicking him.

The following day we heard that the young man with the collecting book was sentenced to two months' imprisonment, while the one who was beaten was released.

SECTION II.—THE HADJICOSTA PRISON, ATHENS

The next day, when we were leaving the office of Mr. John Sofianopoulos at about 1 p.m., we were met in the lobby by a

deputation, mainly consisting of women relatives of detainees in Hadjicosta Jail, led by Mr. Dendrinos, Legal Adviser of EA. They told us that this morning relatives who were bringing food to the detainees, as is the custom in Greece, had been refused admittance, that the prison was surrounded by armed guards and that they had heard the detainees shouting for help. They feared that they were being beaten by the guards and begged us to go immediately and investigate. This we did and were received by the director of the prison, Mr. Corfutakis.

Mr. Corfutakis told us that visiting facilities were now restored and had only been interrupted owing to a disturbance that morning because of the transfer of 41 men from Hadjicosta to the prison island of Aegina. The men disliked going to Aegina because their relatives could not visit them. He admitted that 13 of the 41 had not been sentenced and that Aegina was supposed to be for convicted men, but stated that the order had come from the Minister and was probably because the 13 had been "threatening" the other detainees.

It subsequently transpired that they were all members of the Prison Committee, elected by the men themselves—also that a general order had been issued by the Tsaldaris Government forbidding prison committees.

The director was most polite, and once he had got telephonic permission from the Ministry of Justice, allowed us to go everywhere and speak freely to the prisoners. Though he admitted that there had been a considerable uproar and protest from the prisoners at the removal of the 41 he denied that there had been any beating up. We did not see the 41, as they had already been transferred.

The jail itself consisted of a series of very large rooms round a big courtyard. The prisoners were allowed to move about this area freely and it seemed reasonably clean, light and airy. They had decorated the rooms with some lively paintings and numerous portraits of democratic leaders, among whom Attlee was prominent. Leaders of the Greek past and recent National Liberation Movements, past and present, were also represented. King George of the Hellenes was to be found only in the director's office. The total number of prisoners was over 500, most of them political detainees.

We received a most warm and moving reception from the prisoners and, after explaining who we were, asked them about the disturbances that morning. They said that they "wanted to take some of our friends away," and that this was illegal as

they had not been sentenced. About 250 of the prisoners in Hadjicosta had not been sentenced; some had been there as long as 17 months.

We asked about the alleged beating up. Only one young man came forward and pointed to the guard who had kicked him. There seems to have been a general uproar and a guard went into the courtyard waving a revolver (which was against the regulations). Armed guards were posted outside. We ourselves were greeted by uniformed men with tommy-guns in the corridor. We were told that on that very morning machine-guns had been posted on some roofs across the way which overlooked the rooms. We were shown bullet marks on the walls and told that in July, 1945, machine-guns were fired from the roof into this room, wounding an ELAS captain, Venezanopoulos. But the machine-guns were removed as soon as we arrived.

We spoke to a doctor who stated that he had been accused on false evidence given by collaborators. He was in charge of the prison hospital which we were shown, and which had been organised by the prison committee. He said that he had great difficulty in getting ELAS prisoners, who needed treatment, admitted to hospital.

Other prisoners who spoke to us were:

Colonel Tsiklitiras had been in command of the ELAS Forces near Kalamata. Major Wilkes, M.P. had particularly asked us to look out for him as they had fought together against the Germans. Major Wilkes had a high opinion of the colonel's military achievements and personal integrity. Since our visit —and representations by Major Wilkes—we now learn that the colonel has been acquitted.

In February, 1945, Colonel Tsiklitiras was charged with shooting 135 men. In April, 1945, he was arrested and detained in Sparta for 260 days. He was severely beaten-up and his arm broken—we saw his scars.

He was released in January this year and lived openly in Athens. On April 17 he was re-arrested and sent to Hadjicosta. His trial had been fixed for May 3, although no investigation had taken place when we saw him (April 27). He was charged with murder in a district which he had not visited for years. He met his "accomplices" for the first time in Hadjicosta. His first name and that of his father were incorrectly stated in the charge, in which he was described as a major in the gendarmerie, whereas he was actually in the artillery.

Monios had been held for 17 months without trial. He was

charged with murder between June and August, 1944 (under the German occupation), but he claims that at that time he was in the mountains.

An old man of 85 had been sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment for illegal possession of arms. He was so old that he could scarcely hobble and was by trade a repairer of arms.

George Sideridis was charged with being a "Bulgarian officer." Actually, he worked for the British during the occupation, in connection with the re-fuelling of British submarines. His leader, Diamandopoulos, was executed by the Germans.

There was a general complaint that the prison guards were all collaborators, and the following detailed charges were made:

Georgios Phyldissis was a member of the Gestapo at Nauplia. Warrants had been issued against him and his wife for having surrendered patriots to the Germans.

Papadongonas was a member of the German Bund. He is a nephew of the notorious Colonel Papadongonas, leader of the Quisling Security Battalions in the Peloponnese.

We were also told that two or three of the guards peddled hashish to the prisoners. This had been reported to the authorities, but no action had been taken against them.

Since the elections, the prison cinema, theatre and singing were prohibited and there were threats to remove the pictures and decorations from the walls. The prison authorities alleged that this was done on the instructions of the British Police Mission.

We later received a letter telling us that the stage of the theatre had been dismantled, the pictures taken down, and study classes prohibited.

We were all deeply impressed with the bearing and discipline of the prisoners. There was complete silence on the part of the other prisoners whilst each told his story. Many spoke English or French. There was also a most moving faith in the democratic British people for whom more than one cheer was raised, and this in spite of the scurvy reward meted out to such patriots as Colonel Tsiklitiras who had risked their lives to help the British and now found themselves in prison guarded by ex-collaborators with the enemy.

A word should be said here about the other prison which was visited by two of the delegation. This was the New Prison at Salonika, where N. N. Dodds and Mrs. Pym visited the women's section. The following is their story.

SECTION III.—THE WOMEN'S PRISON, SALONIKA

On May 2 we visited the Women's Section of the New Prison. We had previously been told that the women had been beaten and that the conditions were appalling. They certainly were.

Twenty-eight women aged between 16 and 60, a ten-days-old baby and a little boy of two were crammed into two-tier bunks with very little space between them. The place reminded us vividly of air-raid shelters in the blitz.

A male guard and an old woman wardress were present throughout our interview with the women prisoners. The guard was the one accused of beating them—he did not deny it, but said he had "only smacked their faces!" Marks on their arms and bodies belied this. In view of the women's allegations against this man, Mr. Dodds asked the prison governor at least to detail a different guard to be present at the interview. The governor said this was impossible, as the guard was not under his orders.

There had been two recent cases of beating-up—one on April 7, when the women, including a pregnant woman, Olga Haventidou, were beaten for singing Resistance songs. As a result of this the baby came prematurely and the mother had to be sent to hospital, from which she was sent back to prison with her unfortunate infant after only eight days. Both she and the baby looked terribly ill when we saw them.

She stated that she was in prison because the murderer of her brother had denounced her for killing a man who was actually killed in a battle between ELAS and the Germans and Security Battalions on November 4, 1944. She had never fought with ELAS and seemed a very quiet girl of 23. She had been hit on her back by the guard with his fists because she asked for a visitor. She got no special diet for her baby.

Only one of the 28 women had been sentenced—*C. Dzibili.*

She had been given 11 years for the illegal possession, not of arms, but of bullets. This sentence is to be compared with the sentences of two months' imprisonment imposed by the Athens Court of Appeal, on April 25, on three "X-ites" accused of illegally bearing arms. Incidentally the same court on the same day sentenced a democrat to 11 years' imprisonment for exactly the same offence. Another girl of 16 was on trial on the day of our visit. The other women had been awaiting trial for from 4 to 13 months.

Here are some of the women's stories:

Joanna Aktipi was charged with 532 murders, of which she had been acquitted of 105 by the investigator. She is a widow from Zante Island with children aged 14, 13 and 10. She and her husband fought for 13 months with the partisans. Her husband was killed in action and the Germans and Security Battalion men burnt her house because they could not find her. She had been lying ill in bed on April 29 when the guard dragged her up, tearing her vest and beating her. She looked terribly ill.

Rapi Zantopoulo (18) was accused of the murder of a Second Lieutenant in Kilkis. The man was actually killed in the battle of Kilkis on November 4, 1944. This girl was in EPON (the EAM Youth Movement) and had been with the ELAS reserve as a nurse. She was not at the battle of Kilkis, but at Langada at that time. A Security Battalion man had killed her father in June, 1944. He is a prominent Monarchist and still at large in Kilkis. She laid a charge against him after December, 1944, at the court in Kilkis. The only result had been that she had been held in prison for seven months without trial.

Aspasia Stephanou had been in prison for four months charged with the murder of a man who had died of T.B. and of which she had previously been acquitted. The guard intervened to say that she could not have been re-arrested on the same charge, but she insisted that her lawyer had told her so. She was a member of EAM and had two children.

Stamatoula Martinidou (20) had been eight months in prison accused of espionage. She was arrested in Axioupoli and not even told what she was charged with for two or three months. She had sheltered British soldiers during the occupation, including a commando—Major Phillips. Her brother had acted as a liaison with commandos who blew up a railway line. Her house had been burnt by the Germans and Bulgarians when they failed to arrest her.

The final case was the most shocking of all:

In the very small prison yard lay a woman, *Eleni Latsarnaki*, on a stretcher. She was in the last stages of T.B., spitting blood and obviously incapable of getting up off her bed. She had been there for three days, charged with the illegal possession of arms.

There was nowhere to put her under cover if it rained (which it had done on the previous day)—it would have been impossible to get her stretcher into the bunked room, which was the women prisoners' only bedroom and living room—even had it been desirable on health grounds.

When we protested to the governor about this, he said that they took her into the hall of the administrative block when it rained. (The prisoners, however, insisted that she had been in the yard all the time.) He said that he was trying to get her moved, but there was no special prison hospital available in Salonika.

The most recent beating up of the women had taken place on the Monday, April 29, three days before our visit. The women had shouted and protested because they were not allowed visitors. Guards had been called in from the 8th Police Station and together with the prison guard had beaten the women with their fists. Two had been so severely hit on the head that they had bled from the nose and mouth (we saw the marks on their faces). Others had bruises on their arms and backs.

Dodds expressed his horror to the governor at the uncivilised conditions prevailing in the prison, and said that he would hold him responsible if there was any further beating of the women as a result of our visit.

SECTION IV.—A BOY BEATEN UP

Whilst at the EAM offices on our first Saturday afternoon in Athens, a captain of the Greek Army called. He was in a most distressed condition. He explained that his son, who was a student of theology, had been very badly beaten up and asked that we should go and see him. Dodds and Tiffany went to his home in Piræus, and there were informed that the father, who had been a member of the Resistance forces, paid a monthly subscription to a fund to help the relatives of Resistance fighters. This fund is legal and recognised by the Government.

The boy had paid the subscription on his father's behalf and had pocketed the receipt.

Whilst on holiday in a village he and his companion were asked by the police to report to the police station. There they were ordered to turn out their pockets and, when the receipt was found, the young man was taken into a cell, his legs were tied to a rifle, and the bottoms of his feet were beaten until they were like pulp, and he bore terrible bruises from his feet to the crown of his head. We saw him lying on a bed and felt that he would be very lucky to survive.

The father said that he could get no protection and that justice did not operate. He therefore felt that he would be forced, like many others, to take to the hills and fight.

SECTION V.—MAY DAY OUTRAGE

On the afternoon of May Day, Solley and Tiffany went to the Peristeri quarter of Athens to investigate some outrages which had been brought to their notice. The following is their report:

We visited a local Labour Centre (Trades Council) office which had been broken into the same night and the premises damaged. On the walls the assailants had written the "X" sign and underneath the words: "You have more to suffer!"

We then investigated the case of the murder of C. Papagheorghiou of 3 Iassonos Street. His sister, Mrs. E. Jakobiou, said that at 11 o'clock the previous night she was informed that her brother had been severely wounded and that she must go to him. She went to the house and saw her brother in a pool of blood. Ultimately an ambulance came and the wounded man was put into it accompanied by a doctor, a policeman, Miss P. Schari (the fiancee of the murdered man), and his sister. Before the ambulance came, the sister and the fiancee were threatened by "X"-ites, known locally, that they should not call a doctor, but let the wounded man die.

As the ambulance reached a bridge on its way to hospital, it was stopped by five "X"-ites and one local policeman, who were recognised as being the persons responsible for the original outrage. They ordered the ambulance to stop, opened the door (holding pistols and automatics), while the relatives pleaded with them: "Don't shoot, he is wounded."

The sister flung herself on the wounded man's body to protect him. They shot her in the left breast and little finger, and tore her away. She showed her wounds as she told the story.

They shot the wounded man in the shoulder and then left, and the man was brought to the hospital dead. The policeman who was with the ambulance and who had a pistol took no steps at all until after the "X"-ites had departed, when he fired some bullets into the air.

The murdered man had first been wounded at home in the following circumstances, according to his fiancee who was an eye-witness:

At 10.30 p.m. five "X"-ites and the policeman above described stopped at the house, rushed in, and asked the fiancee to put the light on, the premises being in darkness. She rushed upstairs. C. Papagheorghiou got out of bed and the "X"-ites asked him: "Where is your brother?' (His brother is an active member of the Democratic Associations.) Papagheorghiou

said: "I don't know." The "X"-ites then said: "You must die. You have killed Roussos." (This man had been killed earlier that evening in an incident in which "X"-ites had attacked democrats and in which the man named had been accidentally killed by his colleagues.) The "X"-ites ordered Papagheorghiou to dress, and while putting on his pants he was shot in the back with three bullets by an "X"-ite. The five men then left the room, and while doing so one of them threw a hand grenade at the bed. This exploded. Miss Schari shouted for help, and one of the "X"-ites returned and hit her with a rifle saying: "Stop screaming!" The police station is only one minute away from the scene of this event. The police did not, however, arrive at the house of the injured man until 20 minutes later. Although the perpetrators of this outrage are well-known locally, not one of them had been arrested up to the time of our departure from Greece. On the contrary, the police had rounded up and beaten a number of well-known local trade unionists and democrats!

SECTION VI.—VISIT TO LARISSA

On May 2 the Secretary of the Democratic Associations at Larissa, Mr. E. Skylakos, told Solley and Tiffany: "Many false charges of possession of arms are made against democrats. Bandits, if they appear, are acquitted, e.g., four months ago the Military Commander of Thessaly arrested four monarchist bandits with tommy-guns. They were acquitted because there appeared a witness for the defence, a regular army officer, who declared that these guns had been given to them by the officer in order to attack democrats. The secretary further told us that the Deputy Prosecuting Attorney of the Larissa Court of Appeal, Nicopoulos, had been mentioned in an Athens newspaper as the Prosecuting Attorney of the Court of First Instance in the town of Preveza during the Occupation under the Quisling Government, when he had co-operated with the Germans and Italians. In fact, there were writs in respect of these matters issued against him in Preveza. The judges of the Court of Appeal of Larissa, he said, had all fulfilled their judicial functions during the Occupation, but had worked in other regions. As to the "popular" judges, or jurymen, one had a writ against him for co-operation with the enemy, and after serving some time as a "popular" judge of a special court set up to try collaborators, he had to be removed as a result of considerable public clamour.

E. Skylakos also stated: "The police are illegally preventing

trade union meetings, and terrorism is exercised in the first place by the group of bandits headed by Sourlas. Another bandit, Karaghiorgalas, has been sentenced to death in his absence for being a collaborationist. In the region of Volos the chief of the bandits is Kalambalikis. They murder, beat up, rape and rob democrats. No bandit has been arrested in spite of specific denunciations."

In an interview a Mrs. E. Ioannidou said: "My son was murdered in November, 1945, when he attended the funeral of a murdered democrat. The police fired and my son was killed. I have made complaints to the police, but nothing was done. I used to write to the newspapers about my son's death, and yesterday an unknown boy came to me about 1 o'clock and told me that he had been instructed by someone whom he did not know to tell me to stop writing letters and not to see you British M.P.s or I would be beaten up."

The following is the testimony of Dr. V. Dadalieris:

"I am a doctor and I am also the secretary of the Agrarian Party of the Larissa Region. On April 26 the party was holding a congress at Larissa. With three other persons, during a recess in the proceedings, I was walking in the central square when we were illegally arrested by the police, taken to the police station and severely beaten up. We were not charged and were released after about one hour.

"In my professional capacity as a doctor I can speak of specific cases of violence. For example, I was called to attend Mrs. Zambokos at the village of Sykia who told us that she had been maltreated by two members of EVEN (a royalist youth organisation), whose names she gave me, because her husband had not voted. In the village of Yasniou, three days after the elections, I attended six people who had been maltreated, one suffering from a bullet wound fired by the gendarmerie. Many people had been rounded up in the village three days after the election because there had been abstentions."

Mr. G. Papaioannou, a lawyer by profession and a member of the EAM Executive Committee of the Thessaly region, told us that on April 29 at 8.30 p.m. he was escorting two friends from his house when an attempt on his life was made by two men who fired at him with revolvers, fortunately missing. He offered to show us the bullet holes in his house. He had no personal enemies, so the attack was clearly political in motive. His assailants had been recognised and one was a member of EVEN. The lawyer told us that he had been exiled for nine years under

Metaxas and had been mayor of the town for two months after the Liberation. He was not a Communist, but was a member of Sofianopoulos's Party. "I cannot go into the villages to carry on my business because the monarchists terrorise anyone like myself known to be a democrat."

Solley and Tiffany then interviewed General Psiarris, a retired regular army general, twice a Liberal M.P., the last time being in 1936, and now a member of the Left Liberals. He took part in the Resistance Movement, and was commander of ELAS forces in Thessaly. He also took part in the National Council held in the mountains in 1944. For six months before the Liberation he was Governor of Thessaly. After the Varkiza Agreement, he had been arrested, and imprisoned without a warrant or charge, from March 26 to December, 1945, when he was released. He said:

"I have a home and family at a village near Volos in the territory ruled by the bandit Kalambalikis. I cannot return there because my life would be in danger, as the gendarmerie collaborate with bandits. I went to the Commander of the Volos regional gendarmerie and asked him if he could guarantee my safety if I returned home, and he said: "No, the responsibility will be on you if you are killed."

"On the eve of May Day in Volos the Second Group of the 9th Greek Artillery Regiment had gone to the premises of EPON, the democratic youth organisation. There were about ten soldiers in uniform with tommy-guns. They told the boys and girls, whose average age was about 18 to 20, to put their hands up, and rushed them out of the premises. The furniture, desks, books, registers, etc., were taken outside and burned. A major of the unit was present, by the name of Kasicopoulos.

During the same evening and in another part of Volos, called Palia, soldiers destroyed another of the youth organisation's premises. EPON is affiliated to the World Federation of Democratic Youth and is a legal and democratic organisation.

On the following morning Solley and Tiffany visited these premises and by direct observation and questions on the spot confirmed everything the general had said.

As an example of the way in which the "X"-ites go unpunished, the general told of the case of the murder of an ELAS man, Theodorou, by an "X"-ite, Theodoropoulos, on Good Friday, April 19. The man murdered was actually a friend of the "X"-ite, and the latter, filled with remorse at the murder, confessed to the crime and handed over his revolver. In spite

of this confession, the "X"-ite was not arrested and some time later joined the local bandits. The EAM Committee of Volos interviewed the British Police Representative and reported this murder. The police chief said to them: "What are *you* going to do? There is nothing I can do about it."

SECTION VII.—THE SITUATION IN PATRAS

When in Patras, Solley and Tiffany received a deputation from the Agrarian Party (Mr. T. Coulombas, Deputy Secretary of the Peloponnese Committee, and Mr. A. Papahatzis, member of the Executive Committee, and former President of the Union of Agricultural Co-operatives of the same region).

The Deputy Secretary said: "We cannot go into the villages in the Peloponnese area to fulfil our duties because of the terror. I myself cannot go to my birthplace in the Messinia region. The monarchists have killed many democrats there. The name of my village is Charokopio."

Manganas, the leader of the Kalamata outrage, was seen three days ago at Tripolis, walking around the central square and afterwards in the company of gendarmes. News to this effect was published in the local press on March 30, 1946, and the newspaper *Eleftheri Achaia,* produced and shown to the M.P.s, reported as follows: "Manganas visited the gendarmes of the town of Kyparissia on March 24 and talked to them. Many citizens and national guardsmen recognised him, but were not able to interfere."

The Deputy Secretary went on: "On Easter Day Tsonoghiorghos, chief of the monarchist bandits in the Patras region operating in about twenty villages, forced villagers to give him lambs and eggs, which he gave as a present to the chief of the police station of a village near Patras called Bozaitika."

SECTION VIII.—SALONIKA ENQUIRY

When Dodds and Mrs. Pym visited Salonika, it was announced in the Press that on May 2, from 4 to 6 p.m., they would be present at the offices of the Union of Democratic Associations. A very large number of people came, and interviews with them lasted from 4 to 7.30 p.m. Even then it was necessary to address the crowd that remained, as there was no time to see them individually. The following is the account of Dodds and Mrs. Pym of a number of the cases they interviewed:

Case 1.—*Dr. John Conayannis,* recently retired from the army, where he held the rank of lieut.-colonel.

He resides in the village of New Madytos about 38 miles from Salonika, where he said the situation was becoming intolerable because of the terror of the gendarmes and the monarchist organisations. He said that they destroy shops and premises of the Left-wing and that one must become a monarchist or die. He and his wife had been badly beaten-up because they protested, and we saw evidence of this maltreatment. He mentioned the fact that during the election the monarchists were going round the village forcing the people to go to the poll, and he further stated that this was well known to the gendarmes. He is a Sofoulis Liberal.

Case 2.—*Vassilios Othondides*—was a one-legged member of EAM who kept a small tobacconist's shop in Katerini, a village in Macedonia. When he went into a certain café the proprietor called the police, who took him to the Gendarme Station No. 6 in Salonika. There the gendarme, Constantine Raftopoulos, together with seven others, beat him for three hours. They gave no reason for this at first, but later they said: "We're beating you because you're a Communist; one day we'll kill you." After six hours they freed him; he was never charged with any offence. He protested to the gendarmerie chief, who said that they had beaten him because he was drunk.

Case 3.—*Andreas Vasolarides,* of 1 Palamidou Street, was a former member of ELAS. He sold newspapers in the streets when he came from the mountains. A gendarme warned him not to do this, although he had no legal grounds for doing so. Twenty days later the same gendarme shot him through the leg and foot without warning (we saw the wounds), and passers-by took him to hospital.

The same day a number of gendarmes went to his house and beat his seventy-year-old father and threw his sister down a ladder. As a result of this his sister has lost her reason and he does not dare to live in his own home.

Case 4.—*A. Argyropoulos*—was the owner of a flour mill in Kavalki, 20 miles from Salonika. He is a democrat and Anglophil. His house was destroyed in May, 1945, by former members of the Security Battalions including the son of a rival miller who is in EVEN. The gendarmerie made no arrests. The chief of EVEN in the village, Aristidis Arabadgis, betrayed eighteen British soldiers to the Germans, and is still living openly in the village, although his case was reported to the Allied Electoral Commission.

Another man from the same village, D. Dimitriadis, who sheltered a British soldier during the Occupation, dare not return to his village because EVEN threaten to kill him. Many other families have fled from the village because of the terror.

On June 14, 1944, in Kavakli, Germans and Security Battalion men killed 20 men, 7 women (including Dimitriadis's wife) and a baby. Today, the former Security Battalion men are terrorising the democrats in this village. Four of them are actually in the gendarmerie: Panayiotis Vergides (who killed Dimitriadis's wife and now threatens to kill him), John Stefano, Nicholas Tsamourdjis and Argyrios Karagounis.

Case 5.—*Nicholas Papadopoulos*—aged 20, from Kilkis, was accused of killing 48 "unknown" men because he was in ELAS. While he was in the New Prison, Salonika, a prison guard hit him on the head with a rifle while he was asleep. As a result he lost the sight of one eye. He had a terrible scar on his head. He was later freed under the amnesty.

Case 6.—*George Spiropoulos* came from the village of Komnina, near Kozani. He sheltered a British soldier, H. W. Beane, for two years (he draws a pension from the British Government for this).

A member of the Security Battalions, Nicholas Kurtsidis, reported Spiropoulos to the Gestapo—he was warned and managed to escape to the mountains with the British, but the Gestapo killed his two brothers. Kurtsidis, who has named his son Hitler, is still free, is armed, and is a member of the "X" organisation, and threatens to kill Spiropoulos. He informed the gendarmerie that Spiropoulos had killed eighteen people (which is completely untrue), so Spiropoulos dare not return to his village.

Case 7.—*Three N.C.O.s of the Salonika Gendarmerie*:

John Sidis with 17 years' service and a first-class gendarmerie certificate.

John Kravaritis with 10 years' service.

John Doskoridis with 10 years' service.

They came as a deputation from 130 gendarmes in the region of Salonika who were being suspended on the following day, because they were moderates, did not like beating-up the people, and would not fit into the campaign which was being prepared against the Left-wing.

They stated that there were 2,000 moderate gendarmes in Greece who were being suspended on these grounds, and

when Mr. Dodds and Mrs. Pym mentioned this to Colonel Gordon, the chief representative of the British Police Mission in Salonika, and later to Sir Charles Wickham, the British Police Chief in Athens, no denial was forthcoming. Mr. Dodds and Mrs. Pym took this matter up with the Minister of Public Order in Athens and he, too, did not deny the statement.

SECTION IX.—VISIT TO VOLOS

(Report of L. J. Solley and S. Tiffany)

We visited Volos on May 4. Our car was stopped on the outskirts of the city by a reception committee of local democrats and we proceeded in a procession of four or five cars to the city. When we got near the market square there was an enormous crowd and we were cheered to the echo. This cheering, was taken up by individual batches of Volos's citizens wherever we went. The crowds round our car were so huge whenever we stopped that on one occasion the window of the car was broken.

There was a large number of women who surrounded the car who were almost hysterical. They were crying: "Help us, save us and our children from the fascist terror." It was unbelievable that these incidents could have been organised to impress us. One woman came into the office of the Democratic Association while we were there, carrying a shirt which was soaked with blood. She said that she had just come from the police station where her son had been beaten up. The atmosphere was one of men and women who could not stand the terror much longer. We investigated and verified the breaking up of some of the Democratic Association premises about which we had been told.

SECTION X.—VISIT TO SOHOS

(By N. N. Dodds and Mrs. Diana Pym)

The Occupation

On May 4 we visited Sohos village which is situated in the mountains about 30 miles from Salonika. We had previously been told something of the background of the village by men who had fought in the 11th ELAS Division. There were three main forces in the area during the occupation:

1. The Bulgarians and Germans.
2. ELAS.
3. The Security Battalions which grew out of YVE and PAO.

The occupation forces in the area covered by the 11th ELAS Division were distributed as follows:

A fully-equipped regiment of Bulgarians based on Langada, about	2,000
A Company of Bulgarians in Nigrita, about ..	500
A Regiment of Bulgarians in Kalkidiki, about ..	2,000
A Transit Camp at Kilkis with constantly changing German and Bulgarian units, never less than..	2,000
	6,500

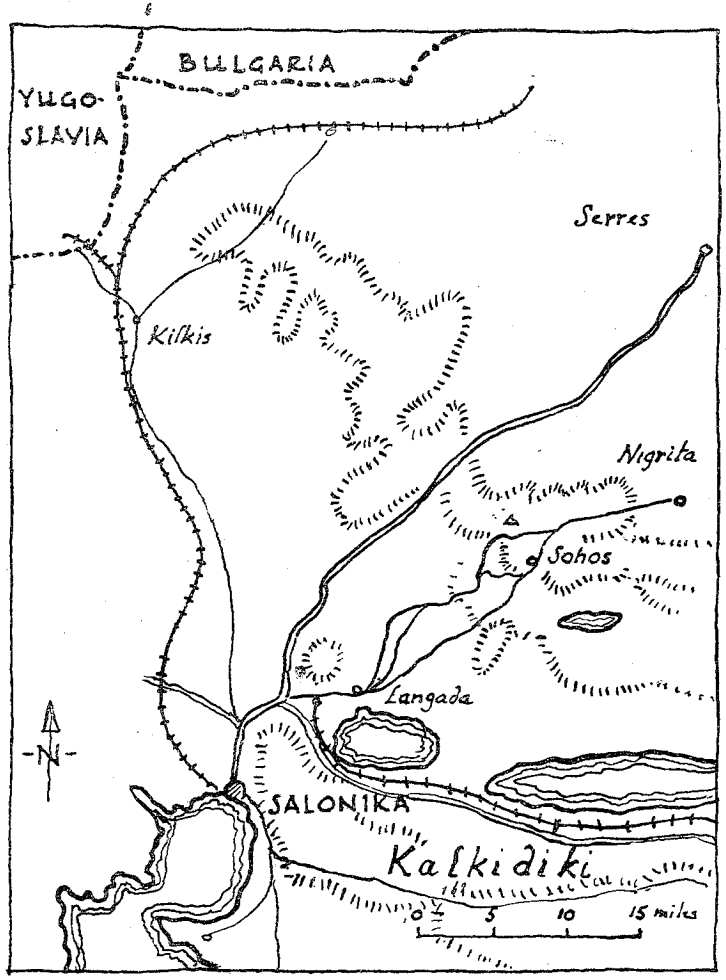
We were constantly hearing rumours from Right-wing sources, both British and Greek, of how ELAS had collaborated with the Bulgarians—in fact "Bulgarian" was the most common term of abuse by the Right about the Left—apparently even Louis Saillant, the French representative of the WFTU, had his nationality changed for him by the Right! We therefore made a special point of asking the local ELAS men about Bulgarians and other foreigners in their ranks. We were informed that in the 11th Division there were:

Six Russians (escaped P.O.W.s).
Two Yugoslav partisans who had escaped over the border after partisan fighting in Yugoslavia.
Two Austrian anti-fascists who had deserted.
Two Bulgarian anti-fascists who had deserted.

The Bulgarians were workers from Varna and proved invaluable to the partisans in obtaining information about Bulgarian troop movements and in distributing anti-fascist leaflets to the Bulgarian soldiers appealing to them not to fight the partisans, etc.

In April, 1943, about five partisans took to the mountains and were joined by a small band from Kilkis. By July, 1943, they had grown to a regiment of over 900 with its base on the top of Mt. Tsoplaki, above Sohos village. They had three companies operating round Kilkis, Kalkidiki and Sohos and harried the occupation forces so effectively that they hardly dared venture outside the towns and villages. By the end of August a Division was formed with 2,500 men. This was later brought up to a strength of 4,800.

Just how difficult was the task of ELAS in this area can be seen from the map. Their headquarters were in the mountains, above Sohos, and there was no large "liberated area" on which they could base themselves. Nevertheless they contrived to keep 6,500 occupation troops tied up in the towns and villages; and



Sketch Map of the Sohos Area

to supply themselves with arms and stores from enemy sources and to harry and attack lines of communication and do extensive sabotage.

The " Nationalist " (Royalist) Resistance group began as YVE (Defenders of Northern Greece). They never fought the Bulgarians and were soon unmasked as traitors. In the spring of 1943 their name was changed to PAO (Pan-Hellenic Organisation of Liberation). They began as a Right-wing Resistance movement and at one time had contact with the British, but they became more and more pro-German.

Their object was to fight ELAS and not the Germans and Bulgarians.

They fought openly beside the Germans. To begin with, PAO had contact with the Germans only and made a show of being opposed to the Bulgarians, but, in December, 1943, Spiridis, PAO leader in Nigrita, took the oath to Hitler before high German officers in Dimitritis, a suburb of Nigrita.

Open co-operation with the Bulgarians followed the taking of this oath and in the spring of 1944 PAO members appeared openly in Salonika wearing black caps as members of the Security Battalions.

The Salonika section of PAO denounced those who took the oath to Hitler, but they could not maintain a separate organisation and in April or May, 1944, PAO went out of existence and most of its members joined what were known as the " Security Battalions of PAO " and which were denounced by the Papandreou Government in Cairo and by British H.Q., Middle East.

The two main leaders of these Security Battalions were Spiridis (in Nigrita) and Costas Papadopoulos (in Kilkis). The latter is now a deputy for Kozani, returned in the election of March 31.

The following is an extract from an Order issued over his signature on October 3, 1944 : " With a view to exterminating Communism in our region, it has been decided to launch a general offensive on October 3 at 8 a.m. with the participation of German troops. . . . Measures to be taken during the offensive : (1) Shooting immediately of all armed persons captured, (2) Reconnaissance of the terrain, searching of houses, barns, etc., and the assembling of all men and women from 15 to 70 years who are suspect at Hellikon, where they will be sorted."

Early in May, 1944, two officers of the Security Battalions

under the command of Spiridis, Papoulias and Nerangis went to Sohos and gave arms to 50 well-known Rightists. ELAS sent them an ultimatum to surrender their arms within six hours. Sohos was vital to ELAS as most of their provisions had to pass through the village and it was a local supply centre. The 50 refused and barricaded themselves in the school, where they held out for two days. They had sent for help from the Bulgarians, but it arrived too late. ELAS were very lightly armed and had several casualties before they succeeded in forcing the surrender by the use of petrol bottles. Only one of the defenders was killed and another suffocated trying to escape through a drain. The 50 were disarmed, and, after careful investigation, all but five were allowed to go free. These five were taken by ELAS to the mountains where they were given a trial lasting 12 days. One of them, a lawyer, had acted as " examiner " for Spiridis and the Germans, when Resistance fighters who had been rounded up by the Germans and Bulgarians were being tried. He eventually confessed, hoping to save his life, and implicated the other accused. He admitted having contact with the Security Battalion officers (who were in direct contact with the Germans) and that they had acted as spies and informers on ELAS. The lawyer also admitted acting as interrogator for the Germans and Spiridis, but excused himself on the ground that he had managed to get some of them off. All five were found guilty by the People's Court and shot.

The Situation Today

We visited the village of Sohos because we had heard that a gendarme had murdered a Leftist and that villagers were frequently beaten up by the gendarmerie. We went first to the gendarmerie station to inform them that we were there. The officer in command, 2nd Lt. Iliopoulos, was in Salonika and the sergeant out of the station, so we left a message that we would call back before we left the village. We also sent a message to the village magistrate, George Vilias, that we would like to see him and would call at his office later.

We had some difficulty in finding the house of the murdered man. No one spoke to us in the village street, but eventually an old man guided us there. Both the Sergeant and the magistrate turned up at the house of the murdered man quite soon. The magistrate stayed there while we questioned the people, who did not mind speaking in his presence. He, however, would not speak in front of them, and said that he would say what he had to say in his office.

After a while more and more villagers trickled into the house to tell us their stories, but once we left no one spoke to us in the street.

Alex Massis was a young man with an excellent record in the Army. He had not fought with ELAS, but worked on the political side with EAM—ensuring supplies, etc. When he came down from the mountains he had been elected president of the Agricultural Co-operative, which had 800 members, and secretary of the Agrarian Party branch.

When the National Guard came to the village to take over after the Varkiza Agreement, they twice came to his house to search for him; he therefore left the village and made charcoal in the mountains. In the winter, when he could not stand the cold and hunger any longer, he decided to go to Salonika to try to get himself cleared as he had not killed anyone. He returned to his house to change his clothes, but someone betrayed him and he was arrested in the house of his relative, Constantine Katsinas (who told us the story).

Katsinas and his two sons and Alex Massis were taken out in the snow by the gendarmes, who made them stand against a wall with their hands up. The gendarme Vassilius Raftis asked a bystander : " Which is the man?" and as the latter pointed to Massis, the gendarme shot him in cold blood. There was no attempt to escape.

This happened on January 25, 1946.

Raftis was " removed " from the village—but not under arrest, and he has never been brought to trial. Nor has any evidence been called for from the eye-witnesses. The villagers think he is in Salonika in the Security Section of the gendarmerie.

Fifteen able-bodied men have fled from the village because they fear the same fate as Massis.

About sixty people have been beaten by the gendarmes because they supported EAM. We talked to several of them, including an old shoemaker who was beaten in his shop by Raftis, and a young men who had lost his hearing as a result of a beating he had received for singing a partisan song. These people bore unmistakable marks of severe beatings. One old woman stated that her son was still in hospital as a result of a beating he had received on December 4, 1945.

We then went with the magistrate to his office, which was a room off the main hall of the gendarmerie station. He spoke to us in the presence of his deputy and began by bluntly stating that

no action was taken by the Greek state in his area to punish those responsible for crimes and murders. Hence terrorism is encouraged. Not only do the gendarmerie take no notice of him when he tries to uphold the law, but they actually threaten him with rifles.

Civilians were constantly being beaten in the gendarmerie post outside the door of his office. He reported this to the public prosecutor in Salonika, who told him that justice was a farce in Sohos and that it was his, Vilias's, responsibility to do something about it. The public prosecutor instructed Vilias to take a statement from everyone who was beaten and submit it to his superiors in Salonika.

On March 24, 1946, he heard cries of "Help! They're killing me!" outside his door. He went out and found a man being severely beaten by the gendarmes. Vilias instructed them to bring the man to his office. They did so, and he began to take a statement. The gendarme Mandzaris burst in and tried to drag the man out of the office. Vilias protested; the gendarme swore at him and a general scuffle ensued in which Vilias was struck and the commander of the gendarmerie post, 2nd Lieutenant Iliopoulos, dragged the man out by force and threatened to kill the magistrate. Vilias had to abandon his office and advised the other civil servants in the village that he was no longer able to carry out his duties as there was no justice in the village.

The next day he went to Salonika and reported the incident to the public prosecutor, Karapiperis, who instructed an attorney and a captain of the gendarmerie to investigate the situation in Sohos immediately. As a result of their investigation, on the same day, they cabled both Athens and Salonika recommending the removal of the commander of the gendarmerie, Iliopoulos. That was on March 27. So far the only thing that has happened is that the gendarme Mandzaris has been transferred to another station. Vilias believes that the Minister of Justice was notified.

We were told of many similar incidents which have subsequently occurred in the surrounding villages.

Vilias, a man of about 27 or 30 years of age, spoke to us very frankly and was obviously pretty apprehensive as to what was going to happen to him as a result of our interview. We assured him that we would make it clear to the gendarmerie sergeant that we, and not he, had taken the initiative about the interview.

He ended by saying that in the four months he had been in Sohos he knew of no provocation whatever by the Left and

expressed the opinion that if the gendarmerie left there would be peace and quiet.

We then went to see the sergeant of the gendarmerie, G. Tsolos, second in command of the post and asked for his opinion on the situation. He stated that the region was previously ELAS headquarters and that the gendarmerie post had only been re-established on July 16, 1945. The papers said there was a band of 150 Capitaneos (ELAS partisans) circulating and that all the Nationalists had fled. Gendarmes who had been in Sohos before said that they would rather desert than go there because it was a centre of Communist terrorists. The gendarmerie were warned by the Nationalists that terrorists would destroy the gendarmerie post and that the house where we had been was their meeting place.

Mr. Dodds then asked him a few straight questions.

"Can you give one case of a gendarme being attacked?"

"No."

"Was the gendarmerie post ever attacked?"

"No."

"Did you beat old men and women?"

"No."

"Did you beat young men?"

"They were Communists."

"Is it legal for gendarmes to beat people?"

"No."

At first Tsolos denied knowledge of the magistrate's protest about the beatings. Under pressure, he admitted that he had been told about it by Mendzaris.

Finally, Dodds asked the sergeant to call in all the gendarmes with the magistrate, and threatened to hold the sergeant responsible if anything happened as a result of our visit. He expressed himself pretty forcibly about what we had seen.

One of the gendarmes began to lose control of himself, but when we offered to take down any statement he would like to make, he was silent. The sergeant then said that it was their duty to observe the law and to protect property. During the occupation they had suffered from the Communists and many gendarmes had been killed by them—they must defend themselves against armed terrorists.

As we went out a small group of women in black, whom we had noticed lined up outside the sergeant's door when we went in, gathered round us and the sergeant said: "Aren't you going to

speak to these women?" We thought it odd that they should be waiting for us inside the gendarmerie station and insisted on interviewing them outside in the street. They asked: "Why didn't you come and enquire about the murders of our husbands?" We asked them to continue. They said that they had been murdered by the Communists. We asked when. In all but one case it was on May 7, 1944. We asked if it had been in a battle. They said yes, and it turned out that they were all widows of men tried and executed after the battle of Sohos school described above.

It was quite obvious that this deputation had been organised for us by the gendarmes—a technique which we know to have been practised on previous British delegations to Greece.

As we left the village, our car was stopped by two young girls—one about 15 years old—who gave us flowers. The day after we left we heard that they had been beaten by members of EVEN.

So concerned were we with what we had seen at Sohos that we asked the British Consul at Salonika to see us that evening together with Colonel Gordon of the British Police Mission. After a long discussion, it transpired that the British Police Mission had only heard of the Sohos affair through a report in a Left-wing newspaper which they had tended to discount. Although the incident with the magistrate was over a month ago, they had not intervened in any way, and we formed the conclusion that both the consul and the British Police Mission were almost entirely dependent for their information on the Greek gendarmerie, which is not a very impartial or trustworthy source.

SECTION XI.—THE CLOSING OF A CLINIC

Even organisations catering for the Resistance movement, which in Britain would be recognised as performing a charitable function, are not exempt from interference by the authorities. It is here appropriate to give an example from the experiences of EA, the "National Mutual Aid," which was at first part of EAM, but later functioned as an independent, non-political, organisation.

One of the recurring themes in UNRRA and British military circles was that "the Greeks wont help themselves; they expect us to do everything for them." Yet EA, an organisation with an outstanding record of self-help, has not only been obstructed

by successive Greek Governments, but is even unable to get any supplies from UNRRA.

One of EA's first activities was to conceal and care for British soldiers and escaped prisoners. For the Resistance fighters it cooked, mended, made clothes and laundered. It cared for the dependents and farms of the combatants; it organised free hospitals and dispensaries in places where such things were unknown; it cared for the orphans and organised communal meals. After the Varkiza Agreement (February 12, 1945), its dispensaries and hospitals were closed and successive Governments prevented its collecting of funds and arrested its collectors and local officers.

EA, however, continued to work—now concentrating on helping the thousands of political detainees and their families with legal aid, food, and so forth.

One of the offshoots of EA—the "Foundation for the Relief of Resistance Fighters, 1940-45," which ran a clinic mainly for hostages returned from Germany—was a victim of such discrimination while we were in Athens. It was treating 100-150 out-patients daily—the doctors and nurses giving their services free, but on Thursday, May 2, the police came and said that the clinic must close down within 24 hours. In spite of protests by the committee (which includes the Bishop of Kozani, Mrs. Svolos, Mrs. Tsouderos and John Sofianopoulos), the Minister of Public Welfare confirmed the order and we witnessed the pitiful spectacle of the patients coming on their crutches and in wheel chairs to find their clinic closed.

The building had belonged to a collaborationist doctor, who used it as a gambling house for Germans during the Occupation. It was requisitioned by the Sofoulis Government while he was in jail and given to the "Union of Hostages." When he was released, his monarchist friends in the Tsaldaris Government promptly derequisitioned the building, so the clinic was given 24 hours' notice, extended to 48 hours as a result of protests.

SECTION XII.—TESTIMONY OF LIBERALS

We saw Mr. Kourvisianos in Athens, who said: "I was appointed Special Prosecutor by Papandreou after the liberation in Athens for the prosecution of collaborators. I served in that office from November 14, 1944, until October 1, 1945. I was then asked to take a village post at Agrinion in Western Greece. This was

intended as an insult and was the result of pressure on the Government from the friends of collaborators whom I was prosecuting. Accordingly, I resigned.

"On April 20, 1945, an armed man made an attempt on my life. The Security Corps was informed, but no arrest was made.

"On May 11, 1945, Diamantopoulos, an agent for Germany during the occupation and against whom there was a warrant for arrest, attacked my brother at Gastouni; he fired eight times but fortunately missed him. Diamantopoulos was arrested and three months later sent to Patras where he was illegally released by my successor. On April 8, 1946, my two brothers were told by a group of 'X'-ites, led by Diamantopoulos, that they would be murdered in my village. A brother of one of the group was sentenced to twenty years for collaboration, in a court in which I had been the prosecutor.

"Two 'X'-ites, together with the gendarmes and the Chief of Police, arrested one of my brothers and took him to the village police station. They took off his shirt and coat and stabbed him three times and killed him. My murdered brother was an eminent local Liberal, and was a lawyer. The murderer is free and the chief of police is still at his post."

When we interviewed ex-Premier Sofoulis, he said: "The internal position is much worse than it has ever been. Law and order are non-existent. The incidents which happened during the period of my government I was unable to prevent because of the reactionary elements within the state machinery. I refer to the Security Corps, police and gendarmerie. This situation is an inheritance from the Metaxas dictatorship. The Government of Voulgaris was a reactionary one, and during that period a purge was made of the State machine and the few demaining democratic remnants were eliminated. The reactionary elements that now remain are linked with the Government, and since no steps are taken against them, they feel perfectly safe in doing anything they like. They supported the election of the present Government and know they contributed to its victory. They therefore feel they have been strengthened and that is why the terror has been extended to a climax resulting in the further provocation of the extreme Left. The State machine is only working for the King's return. They have turned against the democrats in order to be avenged, so they say, and in this they do not make any exception of the Liberals, they even characterise us as Communists in an attempt to justify the

crimes they commit against us. We, as Liberals, are paying with our blood for the actions of the Right and the extreme Left. Most Liberal leaders in the countryside have had to disappear or have been killed as a result of terrorist activities."

CHAPTER III

MAY DAY AND THE TRADE UNIONS

SECTION I.—OUR MAY DAY EXPERIENCES

All members of the delegation participated in the May Day celebrations, and all spoke at mass meetings: Dodds and Mrs. Pym at Salonika, and Solley and Tiffany in Athens.

During their visit to Salonika, Dodds and Mrs. Pym saw quite a lot of the local trade union movement, being met on arrival by representatives of the General Confederation of Labour (Greek TUC), and meeting a number of deputations who came forward with their complaints. These invariably related to persecution of trade unionists by monarchists and by gendarmes throughout the Salonika district.

Among these complaints was that in a number of places May Day demonstrations had been banned. So when Dodds and Mrs. Pym called on the Governor-General of Northern Macedonia, they requested that the May Day celebrations should be permitted, and also asked for permission to carry out their investigations freely in the province.

The Governor-General agreed that the demonstrations should not be banned, and they were permitted in a number of places. However, in the town of Verria the demonstration was interrupted by the gendarmes who surrounded the band and forced them to play the royal anthem, as a result of which the demonstrators broke up in disorder.

In Salonika the May Day demonstration was held in excellent weather, and was attended by between 80,000 and 90,000 people. The enthusiasm was tremendous, and the main slogans were for a general amnesty. Dodds makes the following personal report:

"When I finished my speech, I was informed that some members of the crowd had been arrested. We found time to go to the No. 8 Police Station to investigate the case of three men who had already been badly beaten up by the gendarmes. One of the prisoners was a cripple, having been wounded nine times while serving on the Albanian front as a member of the Resistance Movement. This man was in a

particularly bad state, and the officer in charge said that he had found it necessary to lock the three men in a cell, and to retain the key, to prevent worse happening to them. When I asked why this had happened, he replied that they were wearing ELAS badges, but they were to be released as there were no other charges against them, and there was some legal doubt as to whether ELAS badges were political. They were released while we were there, but all of them had suffered severe beatings."

On the eve of May Day, Solley and Tiffany visited the Patras Labour Centre, and their report gives almost exactly the same picture as that in Salonika:

"At the Patras Labour Centre we received a large number of delegations of different trade union branches and different democratic organisations. We saw three women weavers who had been dismissed that morning because they had been distributing May Day leaflets outside their place of work. They were not distributing leaflets in the factory, or during working hours. They were dismissed on the spot, although that is contrary to the law, but it would be impossible in practice to obtain any redress. Permission to distribute these pamphlets had been obtained from the police.

"We were told by a deputation of trade union leaders that the day before the police chief had stated that the May Day celebrations must not be held within the city, but his decision had been altered later, and they informed us that this was because of the news of our arrival. The meeting, although permitted, was subject to stringent restrictions, e.g., collections, dancing, singing and entertainments were all forbidden.

"During a short adjournment at the Patras trial, which we attended, we were talking to the Populist (Monarchist) deputy for the district, Saghias, when a man rushed into the court-room, his face and clothing covered with blood.

"He wanted the protection of the court because 'X'-ites and a policeman had been beating him up. The man gave his name as Petris, of 90 Deruinekion Street, Patras. The Populist deputy angrily exclaimed that this was a Communist trick to fool us, whereupon I put my hand on the man's face, showed the deputy the blood, and asked him if he thought this was red ink.

"The only retort the deputy could think of was: 'We have been occupied by the Germans for four years, and our democracy is not yet as stable as yours.'

"Petris was led away to the police station and later that evening we interviewed him. He told us that the police and the 'X'-ites who were working hand-in-hand, had caught him distributing handbills. These had been passed by the local prefect as legal, were announcing a May Day meeting, and had been given him by the Labour and trade union centre, yet the explanation we were given at the police station for this outrage was that the leaflet contained the offending words: 'Capitalist Oligarchy ruling in Greece.'

"Incidentally, after we left Patras by road for Athens, we had an evening meal at a wayside cafe, where a group of monarchist soldiers were also eating. They were singing a royalist song, some lines of which included the following: 'We are going to fight the Bulgarian Communists with the arms our Allies have given us.'"

On May Day itself Solley and Tiffany took part in the Athens demonstration in the Panathinaikos Field where, in spite of torrential rain, there was an enormous attendance, with 60,000 seated in the stadium, and one and a half times that number standing, making a total estimated at 150,000. Some of the banners were in English, and one of the most popular slogans was: "This is the 9.3 per cent who abstained"—a reference to the figures given in the Allied Observers' report that only 9.3 per cent abstained for political reasons.

At Larissa, the Executive of the Labour Centre told Solley and Tiffany that slogans which were to have been on the workers' banners for the May Day celebrations had first to be censored by the gendarmerie. They produced the official communiqué from the gendarmerie, showing that three slogans containing references to fascism had been struck out. These were:

1. "Condemn the traitors of the working class who collaborated with the fascists."
2. "Monarchist-fascist terrorism must end."
3. "The workers and employees will struggle for the extirpation of the remnants of fascist reaction."

SECTION II.

THE POSITION OF TRADE UNIONISM

Wherever we went we were impressed by the activity of the local Labour Centres in welcoming us. They always made the most of the opportunity to report to British Labour M.P.s the state of affairs in their locality. And we must

admit that they were unanimous in the stories they told of active terrorism and persecution of the trade unions, whether in Athens, Piræus or Salonika, Patras or Larissa.

Solley and Mrs. Pym spent some time with members of the Executive of the Greek Confederation of Labour on April 27. Most of the Executive were present, including the veteran leaders, Theos, Stratis and Kalomiris. Theos travelled with Dodds and Mrs. Pym to Salonika.

Theos is a fine example of the type of leader forged in the long struggle to build free trade unions in Greece. He is only 50 years old, though 15 years in almost every prison in Greece for trade union organisation makes him look much more. On one occasion he was kept for seven and a half months in solitary confinement, and as a result of his sufferings he is nearly blind and tubercular. The Metaxas dictatorship handed him over to the Germans, but he escaped, and took a leading part in organising Resistance in the mountains.

The General Secretary of the GCL is Mr. Paparigas, who welcomed us, and invited the members of the delegation to speak at the May Day demonstrations in Athens and Salonika. The position of Greek trade unionism, as he described it to us, is as follows:

After the institution of the Metaxas dictatorship in 1936, there was no free trade unionism in Greece. The Metaxas "trade unions" were similar in form and activity to the German Labour Front. Membership was compulsory, subscriptions being deducted from wages by the employers! This system is still in force even today, despite repeated protests by the GCL since the liberation.

The "leaders" of the Metaxas "trade unions" were appointed by the Government. Many of the previously elected leaders were put in prison.

During the occupation, the Italians and Germans continued to recognise the "official" trade unions of the Metaxas period, but at the same time a real trade union movement began to be developed illegally, organising sabotage and in other ways fighting against the enemy.

Following the December events of 1944, General Plastiras, the Premier, once again appointed an official executive, and even appointed leaders who had been in office under the Metaxas dictatorship. Unfortunately the Citrine delegation in January, 1945, appeared to be persuaded that these appointments were

constitutional. The pre-1936 leaders, Theos, Kalomiris and Stratis—all at that time associated with EAM—protested at this, and finally new elections were agreed upon under the supervision of the British TUC.

Elections for a provisional executive took place in Athens and Piræus under the supervision of Tewson, Papworth and Feather.

The first Congress of the new GCL should have taken place in July, 1945, but was delayed till March, 1946, when it took place under the supervision of a delegation from the World Federation of Trades Unions, consisting of British, French and Soviet representatives, who endorsed it as properly representing the working class of Greece. This congress was held in spite of considerable obstruction on the part of the authorities, in some cases the local police prohibiting delegates to travel to Athens for the congress.

The executive had intended to finance the congress by collecting half a day's wages from every member. Though this was not illegal, the employers, police and gendarmerie intervened to prevent collections being made and in some cases even confiscated the funds collected. Out of 500 million drachmas required, only 128 million were raised, and as a result the delegates had to sleep where they could, instead of being put up in hotels.

Even since then, however, there is no real freedom for unions to hold their meetings, these being frequently broken up by National Guards, "X"-ites and by the gendarmerie and police. On one occasion the judge who was supervising a trade union election was beaten up.

Here are four examples chosen at random from the 36 telegrams of protest sent to the G.C.L. during April, 1946:

Labour Centre of Arta to G.C.L. on 14.4.45:

> Arta Gendarmerie dispersed today (Sunday) at 11 a.m. trade union meetings at Labour Centre and threatened to arrest the secretary.

Xanthi Labour Centre to Prefect and Gendarmerie Commander of Xanthi on 2.4.45:

> Sir,—Xanthi Labour Centre on behalf of its members considers it its duty to protest against the illegal and unjust arrest of its president and his deputy on Sunday, 31.3.45.

Nea Artaki Fishermen's Union to Ministries of Public Order and Labour and G.C.L. on 4.4.45:

Security Corps set on fire offices of the Union of Fishermen of Nea Artaki and destroyed furniture, files and books and danced round the fire.

Union of Chemical Industry Workers to G.C.L. on 13.4.45:

On behalf of our 3,000 members we protest against the breaking open of our offices and the destruction of 3,500 copies of the syndicalistic paper *Proterghatis*, the theft of 60,000 drachmas, etc.

Since the general election the situation has steadily deteriorated. The economic situation is worse, and the Government threaten to make strikes illegal. Legal action has been started to annul the decisions of the March Congress.

This action has been initiated by a Monarchist M.P. by the name of Makris who, after the liberation, became the leader of the extreme Right-wing within the trade union movement. Despite the fact that he has enjoyed the closest collaboration and support of the police and gendarmerie, and has made repeated efforts to establish himself as the official leader of the GCL, he received only 7 per cent of the votes in the last trade union elections. He has since tried to form a breakaway organisation with no success.

Now, however, with an extreme Right-wing Government in power, he is clearly hoping to become the appointed leader of the Greek working class.

In the fifteen days, April 12 to April 27, twenty cases had been reported of attacks against trade union offices and trade unionists. On April 26 a member of the Athens Trades Council was arrested and sentenced to four months' imprisonment for organising a meeting. The distribution of May Day leaflets, as we have already reported, also caused a whole crop of arrests.

There is no effective price control in Greece today, but very effective wage control. Thus, while the cost of living since pre-war has risen by 200 times, the average wage rose by only sixty times. UNRRA goods are priced at approximately 100 to 150 times pre-war, except for bread which is fifty times pre-war. The amount of sugar which cost 18 to 20 drachmas pre-war now costs 12,000 drachmas on the free market and 4,000 drachmas on the ration. What struck us most forcibly was that the rich could get every necessity and luxury (many of which we had not seen for five years in England)—at an enormous price—while it was a mystery how the poor lived when we compared prices in the shops with the workers' wages.

One of the tragic results of the poverty was the number of children from eight years upwards selling cigarettes and flowers in the streets and cafés. There seems to be a crying need for a system similar to the British one of rationing and price control. We were told that UNRRA had recommended this, but that it was turned down by the Government.

At present poor people cannot afford to buy most of the UNRRA goods, or, if they do—particularly in the villages—they have to sell such items as sugar in the black market in order to buy enough black (or "free") market bread to keep them going, as the amount of "rationed" (i.e., price-controlled) bread is quite inadequate. Hence the profusion of marvellous cream cakes at about 5s. each.

"Destitutes" are supposed to get a free issue of UNRRA goods, but we heard many complaints that you couldn't be "destitute," unless you were a Monarchist.

The present Government does not seem to have any economic policy at all except to remove all controls on industrialists and all safeguards that benefited the workers.

Premier Tsaldaris told us that prices were rising on the Stock Exchange. The capable economist, Professor Angelopoulos, however, assured us that if the present trend of selling gold sovereigns continues, the British loan would be exhausted in two or three months, and there would be a new and worse economic crisis.

The absence of reconstruction work was most striking. We did not see anyone working on the truly appalling roads or on the docks at Piræus, which had been badly damaged and caused such a bottle-neck that food and goods were ruined because of lack of warehouses and difficulty in getting them away.

CHAPTER FOUR

COLLABORATORS WITH THE ENEMY

SECTION I.—WHO ARE THE COLLABORATORS?

We were frankly shocked at the attitude of some British personalities and some Right-wing Greeks towards the collaborationists. On more than one occasion we had to listen to apologies for the German-sponsored Security Battalions who did so much of the work of the invaders for them.

Therefore we think it necessary to define what we mean by a collaborator:

We do not accept the cynical definition of "someone who

collaborated more than I did," but prefer the definition laid down in Decree No. 6 of January 20, 1945, which lays down that those persons shall be prosecuted and punished who (1) "having a public appointment, whether military, or judicial or administrative . . . have been conscious agents of the enemy or have carried out their duties in such a way as to facilitate the work of occupation in an oppressive way for the people . . ." or (2) " who betrayed to the enemy Greek or foreign citizens working for the national or allied struggle or who caused their discovery or arrest; the case being aggravated should the arrested person be condemned . . ." or (3) "who have systematically given information to the enemy about the movements of persons or organisations working for the national or Allied cause . . ." or (4) "who by any means hampered the national and Allied war activity in general. . . ."

It should be remembered that Allied G.H.Q. Middle East and the Papandreou Government both condemned the Security Battalions. Nevertheless, former members of the battalions today occupy key posts in the gendarmerie, the army and parliament, while in the prisons which we visited the majority of the prisoners were charged with killing Security Battalionists and collaborators, often in battle, or with destroying State property during the Occupation; and we estimated that a large proportion of the 13,000 admitted by the present Premier to be now in Greek jails must be held on similar charges.

Premier Tsaldaris told us that there were "no collaborators in Greece—only financial collaborators," but his Government includes General Gonatas, the founder and inspirer of the Security Battalions, whose appointment by Plastiras as a Governor-General even Mr. Churchill felt constrained to oppose.

We will quote but a few of the documented cases of collaborators in high places which were brought to our notice :

Collaborators in Parliament

The first is *Constantine Papadopoulis,* recently elected as a Gonatas ("National Liberal") Deputy for Kozani. He was chief of the Security Battalions in Kilkis and 130 warrants have been issued against him for the murder of civilians during the occupation. He is stated to have burned houses in several villages.

In 1944 Papadopoulos went to Austria to arrange about armed collaboration with the Germans. We saw a photograph of him in Vienna with the German Commander-in-Chief. We also have in our possession a copy of a quisling newspaper, *The Voice of*

the Greeks, published in Salonika in August, 1945. The slogan above the title reads : "The place of all Greeks is on Germany's side." It contains the following main news item :

"CONGRATULATIONS OF GREEK LEADERS TO FUEHRER ON THE OCCASION OF HIS ESCAPE.

"The following cable has been sent to Hitler, congratulating him on the occasion of his escape from the assassination attempt of July 20: Col. G. Poulos, Leader of the Greek Voluntary Unit, Kissa-Badjak, M. Papadopoulos, **C. Papadopoulos,** S. Vassiliadis and Kapnopoulos, leaders of the Greek National Voluntary Army GNVA or EEEZ, P. Dadoulis, Director of Press and Propaganda of the GNVA, D. Agathos on behalf of the Greek Nationalist-Socialists of Macedonia. . . ."

We also saw photostats of an order signed by C. Papadopoulos, Chief of the Nationalist Army of Kilkis, addressed to his troops. It says : "With the object of exterminating Communism in our region, it has been decided to launch a general offensive on October 3, at about 8 a.m. with the participation of German troops. . . .

"*Objectives*—The commanders of sections must know the names of German section commanders, as stated herein.

"*Measures to be taken during the offensive.* (1) All persons captured to be put to death immediately. (2) Reconnaissance of the country, search of houses, and the assembling of all men and women suspects from fifteen to seventy years at Hellikon where the shooting will take place."

The next extract is even more interesting. It is from the decisions taken on August 31, 1944, by the "Nationalist Army of Kissa-Badjak" (Kyriakos Papadopoulos) :

"On 31.8.44 at 11 a.m. in conformity with the orders of the Commander of the Nationalist Army, we have assembled the following Commanders of Corps at Salonika :

"(1) Kyriakos Papadopoulos (Kissa-Badjak) (2) Michael Papadopoulos (Michal Agas) (3) **Constantine Papadopoulos,** and decided. . . ."

We append hereto the order of the English Captain Weekstand (*name translated from Greek*) of the Allied Mission addressed to the chiefs of the Nationalist Army:

"I wish to make known to you the actual situation which is as follows :

"(1) You continue to aid the Germans actively and to fight in

collaboration with them against the forces of the Greek National Government.

"(2) Germany has already lost the war and her troops are surrendering daily. Your help, therefore, is of no further use to the Germans, who will very soon throw you aside as useless.

"(3) The Greek National Government and its Premier, Papandreou, has dissolved and condemned your organisation the 'Nationalist Greek Army.' The Greek National Government has warned you and ordered you to cease fighting in collaboration with the Germans. If you continue to do so, the Government will take that activity into account.

"(4) You have a last chance to deliver your arms to the Second ELAS Division, which is the official army of the Greek National Government in this region.

"(5) The Second ELAS Division has already given a guarantee that you will be in no danger of reprisals.

"(6) The Allied Mission countersigns this guarantee.

Signed, Captain Weekstand. 4.10.44."

And **Constantine Papadopoulos** was elected Deputy for Kozani on March 31, 1946!

We have a list of nineteen deputies from the Kilkis area alone, ten Populists, six Gonatas Party and three Liberals, all of whom collaborated *actively* with the invaders—we give one example.

Cosmas Prokopidis, "Liberal" Deputy for Kozani, was one of the principal organisers of the massacre of Messovouni, Kozani. In 1941 the inhabitants of this village engaged in partisan fighting against the invaders. The Prefect of Kozani and Prokopidis in concert with the Germans persuaded the peasants to lay down their arms by promising that no punitive measures would be taken. Trusting the word of Prokopidis, they did so. One hundred and forty-eight were massacred and the village was completely destroyed and plundered by the Germans.

During the Occupation Prokopidis was the representative in Western Macedonia of the famous traitor Hambouris, who was in charge of collecting abandoned allied war material for the Germans. For this activity Hambouris was condemned to death by the local tribunal, before which there was also a similar charge of treason for Prokopidis. The trial was fixed for April 12, 1946. On March 31 he was elected to Parliament, and taking advantage of his position as Deputy, got the trial adjourned.

The above examples, all taken from one very small area of

Greece, give a clear sample of the composition of the present Parliament elected on March 31.

SECTION II.—THE BLACK RECORD OF THE GENDARMERIE

A note of explanation about the history and composition of the gendarmerie may give the reader a clue to what follows.

The gendarmerie has always been armed. The police, which was trained on British lines was (until the Liberation) unarmed, but it only operated in Athens, Piræus, Patras and Corfu. The extension of its organisation to other cities was successfully resisted by the vested interests of the gendarmerie.

Under the Metaxas Dictatorship (1936-40) the gendarmerie were carefully purged of democratic elements. During the occupation the vast majority were faithful servants of the Germans. A patriotic minority took to the mountains and fought with ELAS, for which they were rewarded by dismissal, prosecution for "desertion," and their widows were deprived of pensions, unlike the widows of gendarmes who served in the Security Battalions. During the Liberation, and the December Events which followed, the gendarmerie virtually disintegrated and their duties were taken over by the National Guards.

Gradually, however, the gendarmes were reassembled, including the ex-Security Battalion men, and their ranks were filled by drafts from the army.

In 1945 Sir Charles Wickham came with a British Police Mission to help train the gendarmes "on the impartial British model." In spite of repeated denunciation by the Left of the collaborationists and quislings in the gendarmerie, no steps were taken to purge them, and there seems good ground for believing that British influence prevented this, or at best did not insist on a purge—on the pretext that there must be "no political discrimination in police services." There seemed to us to be a general tendency in British official circles to ignore the fact that the gendarmerie were *already* political (on the extreme Right); and generally not to look further back than December, 1944, for causes of present difficulties, even when, as in Salonika, there had been no "December Events."

The following examples from the Salonika area alone will give some indication of the activities of the gendarmerie there during the occupation.

1. In an Order of the Day addressed by Gendarmerie Commander Col. N. Dakos to the officers of the Gendarmerie Corps on December 16, 1941, rewards are given to Captain George Stravoskiadis who arrested an allied paratrooper and neutralised supplies dropped at Langada.

In contrast, in the same period (December, 1941), EA in underground proclamations urged the Greek people " to help at any sacrifice the heroic Australian soldiers detained in the concentration camp of Pavlos Melas."

2. The Gendarmerie Commander of Aghion Oros, the officer Palmos, reports to the Salonika Command that his gendarmes (names given) arrested British soldiers hiding in Greek homes during the occupation. This officer Palmos is now serving with the gendarmerie, being in command of a unit.

3. The chief of the gendarmerie in Langada is G. Tsalamidas. We have in our possession a photostatic copy of the following order issued by him:

Salonika Gendarmerie Command.
No. 16/432/20. *Langada,* 23.10.44

GENDARMERIE SECTION OF LANGADA

Insistently search your region for the two following soldiers who have escaped on 29.9.41 *from the prisoners' concentration camp. If you find them, arrest and deliver them to the nearby Occupation Military Authorities.*

Ernest Jimson, Australian soldier, aged 38, *etc.*

Lloyd Augustus, New Zealand soldier, aged 31, *height* 1.79*m.*

Director: *G. Tsalamidas.*

4. The chief of the gendarmerie at Kilkis in Macedonia, is C. Mavroedis. We have photostatic copies of the following two documents:

Greek Gendarmerie, *Salonika,* 8.9.42
Sub-Command of Salonika.
No. 20/272/242.

TO THE HIGH COMMAND OF CENTRAL MACEDONIA

I have the honour to report that my gendarme, S. Mougakidis, of the Gendarmerie Station of Nea Magnessia, has just reported to me that the British soldiers, William Velana and N. Georges, were arrested. The above soldiers were captured hiding near the villagers' farms. They were captured by the Gestapo and transferred here.

Commander of the Sub-Command,
Officer: *C. Mavroedis.*

Greek Gendermerie,
Salonika Gendarmerie Command.
No. 16/432/90. *Salonika, September,* 1941

TO THE HIGH COMMAND OF CENTRAL MACEDONIA

I have the honour to report that at 8 *p.m. on September* 15, 1941, *gendarmes of the region of Magnessia, arrested the British Cypriot soldier, Ahmet Kiazim, whom they delivered to the local gendarmerie station. The Gestapo was warned to take him, which was done.*

Deputy of the Commander
of the Gendarmerie Command,
C. Mavroedis.

A photostat of the following was published in *Laiki Phoni,* Salonika, on February 28, 1945.

Xanthopoulos Apostolos is still the Chief of Gendarmerie of Salonika.

GENDARMERIE HEADQUARTERS, SALONIKA,
SPECIAL SECURITY OFFICES

Doc. No. 19/199/16*a.* *Salonika, July* 23, 1941

To the Police Stations, General Security, Special Security, and Aliens' Dept., Salonika.

Herewith we communicate the document of the German unit 183, *Department* 111, *No.* 68/141 *dated* 17.7.41, *about fourteen British prisoners of war whose data are given in the enclosed lists.*

We order that the under-mentioned British soldiers are arrested and sent to the above unit. Let us know the results of your actions.

The Acting Chief of Gendarmes,
Xanthopoulos Apostolos.

In addition to the above we have documents showing that C. Mavroedis, Gendarme Commander in the Wilkis area, arrested Communist saboteurs and handed them over to the Germans (Nov. 11, 1943); that Lt.-Col. A. Grevenitis who is still serving in the gendarmerie, sent Communists to the Paulos Melas concentration camp for sabotage; that A. Patakos, now promoted to the rank of major, carried out similar activities.

When it is remembered that the above are merely a few samples from the Salonika area alone, and that the situation throughout Greece is no different from that described above, it is patently clear that the gendarmerie in Greece today cannot but

be an instrument of the pro-fascist forces against the democrats.

The following is an excerpt from a memorandum presented to us in Athens, signed by six police officers, which entirely bears out the situation described in Salonika:

"We are Greek Police officers and lower ranks who have put ourselves at the service of our nation and people in fighting against the barbarian enemies during the occupation of Greece, and who also served the allied nations in response to allied broadcasts. We have opposed those leaders of the police force who, influenced by the Germans, tried to turn the Greek police into an instrument of the enemy of our country and the allied cause. We refused to take up arms against our country and to supply the concentration camps and the execution squads with Greek patriots and allies; we have given shelter and assistance to the sons of the British people.

"Among us, Police Director N. Papadimitriou, in charge of a group under the direct orders of the Middle East Allied Headquarters, has rendered invaluable services to the allied cause. Policeman N. Koutsoumaris was imprisoned for two years for belonging to an underground organisation and for giving shelter to British officers, until he was arrested by the Germans. Police Director D. Tsapoghas took an active part in the resistance struggle in the mountains. Two of the above have now been retired from active service, and the third has been discharged. These are but individual examples of what happens on a large scale. Most of us were imprisoned by the Italians, having been surrendered to them by officers of our police, who are still members of the Force. Furthermore, the blood of our colleagues, N. Vacalopoulos, S. Neochoritis, D. Arsenidis, and others who were arrested and executed by the Germans with the help of their treacherous servants, has been mixed with the blood of the boys of your great country in sacrifice to the common cause.

"Now, 18 months after the Liberation, we are considered unsuitable for the police corps. About 200 officers and lower ranks, who had been discharged by the Quisling Governments, are kept out of active service, having been definitely discharged by the present Government. The present leaders of the police corps do not even blush at such decisions as that concerning Policeman D. Soyopoulos, who was discharged during the occupation, and is still debarred from active service, in accordance with Minute No. 14/1944 of the Disciplinary Council for lower Police Ranks, because he refused to obey the orders of a German officer."

SECTION III.—JUSTICE IN GREECE

The average British reader will be startled to read the statement of an ex-Minister of Justice that 90 per cent of the judges are arch-reactionaries. But this is what Mr. G. Mavros, M.P. for Athens in the new Parliament said to us: "The situation today is much worse than it was in November. The State machine is in the hands of the Right. Justice cannot work. Ninety per cent of the judges belong to the extreme Right. They are so fanatical that, without regard to evidence, they will always return a verdict for the Right against the Left. As regards the amnesty, three-quarters of the prisoners could have been released under the de-congestion law passed by the Sofoulis Government, if the judges had exercised their judical functions properly. In some cases I found that twenty to thirty people had been charged for the same murder. Under the de-congestion law, if within a hundred days from December 21, 1945, people accused of murder had not been charged, they had to be released. March 31, 1946, was therefore the target date for the release. On December 21, 1945, there were 18,000 prisoners not yet charged, but only 3,400 were released under the law. Applications to the Public Prosecutor are futile because of the fanaticism of the judges."

Some confirmation of this was obtained by Solley and Tiffany who paid a special visit to Patras to attend the trial of a group of Resistance fighters who, during the Occupation, had taken part in the trial and execution of a group who had been collaborating with the enemy.

The Patras Special Court owed its existence to a decree of November, 1944, issued by the Government of National Unity, which dealt with provisions for the prosecution of collaborators. Under this decree Special Courts were established, to consist of five members, the chairman to be a judge of the Regional Court of Appeal nominated by the Minister of Justice, and four "popular" judges nominated by representative organisations of trade unions, peasants, intellectuals, tradesmen, etc.

In January, 1945, the Plastiras Government amended this decree, and stipulated that the court would consist of three professional judges of the Local Court of Appeal, and two so-called popular judges, to be chosen from a list of jurymen compiled in the following manner.

The Court of Appeal would draw up a list of persons, with the required property qualifications, who were legally entitled to

serve on juries. Workers and peasants were specifically excluded by the new law. From the small number of persons so eligible a limited list was to be drawn up for each area each year.

We were told by the chairman of the Special Court of Patras, somewhat naively, that he himself had taken part in drawing up the original list and he made sure that the persons on the list were " respectable people, financiers, industrialists and the like."

From the list so drawn up, ten are chosen by lot each month as jurymen and from these ten two are again appointed by lot as " popular " judges for the Special Courts.

We were told by Mr. Porphyroghenis, who was Minister of Labour in the Papandreou Government of National Unity and leading counsel for the defence in the Patras trial, that it was invariably the practice for the list of jurymen to consist only of monarchists. He himself had in March, 1946, acted as counsel in an appeal to the Athens Court of Appeal against the choice of the jurymen in the Athens area on the ground that all of them were monarchists and collaborators. Specific allegations were made, but the appeal was dismissed.

As far as the Patras Court was concerned, although set up to deal with collaborationists, it was in fact trying acknowledged leaders of the Resistance movement. In complete violation of the fundamental rule of justice the three professional judges of this Court, who were supposed to sit in judgment on collaborationists, had themselves received their pay from the quisling governments throughout the occupation and had continued to fulfil their duties and functions. And this fact was admitted to us by the President of the Court personally, in an interview we had with him.

Incidentally, after assuring us of his admiration for British justice and his desire to see that justice would be done at the Patras trial, he declared that the accused would be found guilty and would definitely receive their due punishment—this was said when the trial had hardly begun!

Solley comments: " I have studied the original decree as a lawyer, and in my view it is a gross misinterpretation of it to say that this court has the right to try Resistance fighters. This is the agreed view of all democratic lawyers in Greece.

" The essence of the Prosecution's case against the accused was that by disbanding a group of Greeks, and executing their leaders (after trial by Court Martial), the accused were collaborationists in law, and thus came within the jurisdiction of the court; for,

said the Prosecution, this group of Greeks was pro-allied and not, as the Defence claimed, actively assisting the Germans."

While we were present at the trial Mr. Saghias, one of the counsel acting for the relatives of one of the executed collaborators, a monarchist deputy for the Volos region, came into the court and—we presume unaware that we were there—addressed the court. A Greek officer was being cross-examined by defence counsel, on the Resistance activities of ELAS when Mr. Saghias got up, took no notice of the bench, and made an impassioned speech to the court on how ELAS had collaborated with the Germans.

The president of the court, who knew of our presence and wanted to preserve some semblance of order, was obviously afraid to interrupt this M.P., and so the court withdrew leaving the M.P. addressing the crowded court room.

We were informed by defence counsel that this was the first occasion that the prisoners had not been manacled when in court. We were given to understand that this was because we were present at the trial.

We were told by one of the defence counsels that the Patras Court had ruled, as a matter of law, that the killing of any member of the Security Battalions during the Occupation was murder unless it was proved that he had participated directly in an act of collaboration with the enemy. We raised this question with the president of the court, and, after much shilly-shallying, he admitted that this in fact was so.

We thus had an extraordinary situation. During the war the Middle East Command and the B.B.C. had called on the Greek Resistance to fight the enemy and the Security Battalions with all means in their power. Today the Patras court—which we have no reason to consider untypical of Greece as a whole—is actually condemning Resistance fighters as murderers because, in carrying out the orders of Middle East Command and the B.B.C., they killed a number of Security Battalionists during the Occupation.

Solley adds the following comment:

" Having seen a number of cases of people who were obviously wrongfully arrested, I asked whether there was any right of appeal such as our own Habeas Corpus. I was told that there is such a right of application to the prosecuting attorney, who is obliged by law to bring the case at once before the Second Court of Criminal Jurisdiction, consisting of three judges. But there

have been thousands of such applications since the Varkiza Agreement that followed the events of December, 1944, yet only one attempt was made by a prosecuting attorney to go forward with the appeal.

This attorney was beaten up by "X"-ites and later discharged from his job.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ELECTION AND THE PLEBISCITE

SECTION I.—REPORTS ON THE ELECTION

We were not in Greece during the General Election of March 31. We therefore did not see the situation at that time at first hand. From what has already been said about the terror, however, it is quite clear that the situation existing today is merely an intensification of what has existed now for a considerable time. It is the firm opinion of all of us that under the conditions of terror, interference with trade union freedoms, the holding of thousands in jail without trial, and the giving of official positions in the state, gendarmerie and police to notorious collaborators with the enemy, no such thing as a fair election or fair plebiscite is a possibility.

Here are some first-hand stories of the election which were told to some or all of us during our stay in Greece:

At Salonika there appeared at the office of the Union of Democratic Associations, an English-speaking Greek who had lived in the U.S.A. until he was 19 years of age. He came to see us from Verria, and stated that he had been an interpreter for the Allied Observers' Mission from March 1 to April 5, having been attached to Lt. Arthur Peel, from Waterbury, Connecticut. His name was Michael Thomas Lefazanes.

This interpreter told us of voting booklets issued in the Sekias area to people who did not live there, booklets issued to people who did not reside at the address given on the booklet, and booklets issued at Kouklouga to police officials who did not have the necessary residential qualifications. When this was reported to an officer he said he would report it to his superiors, but no action was taken.

At Koufalia, it was stated, the president of the Election Committee submitted lists of monarchists to be registered at the Court of First Instance whereas, in the case of democrats desiring to register, they were told that they must go to Salonika

personally and show certain documents before being allowed to register. As a result only a few democratic supporters voted as the others could not afford the time or expense for the journey to Salonika.

The same interpreter maintained that in many polling booths identification cards were not required while he was there, and that men came from Kilkis by car and were allowed to cast votes. In Yannitsa, he said, the polling was rather poor, so the booths were kept open for hours after they should have been closed and the local police then "persuaded" people to go to the polls.

In Larissa three individuals described to Solley and Tiffany how two of them had been forcibly taken by monarchist bandits to the police station in the village of Yanouli on polling day, but had managed to escape and come to Larissa. They were attacked the next day: they said that in many cases these monarchist bandits voted, not only for themselves, but also in the names of those who were abstaining.

The Secretary of the Labour Centre at Larissa, Skylakos, stated that in two villages controlled by monarchist bandits the villagers were forced to go to the polls by threats; the two villages were Nei Carie and Saraslar; in the latter village, he said, the people were actually lined up. In other villages armed bandits stood outside the polling stations.

The following is the testimony of G. Vlachos, told to Solley and Tiffany at Larissa: "I am a Liberal, and for twenty years was a deputy and a senator under E. Venizelos. I have been told by many people in the villages of the terrorism which exists there. They were forced to vote for the monarchists; many of them were given monarchist lists to put in the boxes and led by bandits to the polls, the gendarmerie actually assisting the bandits. I myself was a Sofoulis candidate, but because of the terrorism in the villages and knowing that my life would be in danger if I went there, I could not leave Larissa to conduct my campaign and had to resign my candidature. Sofoulis himself was able to participate in the election, *but of the sixteen candidates put forward by Sofoulis in this area, only one ultimately decided to fight, and he was I. Koutsinas, and he was in fact arrested when he went to the villages.*"

John Sofianopoulos, former Foreign Minister and leader of the Left Republicans, told us in our interview with him that in his meetings in London in January with Ernest Bevin, Hector McNeil and Philip Noel-Baker, he impressed upon them the

necessity of postponing the election to enable more accurate electoral lists to be prepared, and if possible to get the Left-wing parties to take part in the election. He pointed out that unless the Left-wing did take part the Right would get a dominant majority. Sofianopoulos said that his representations appeared to have made some impression on the Foreign Office, so much in fact that following on a talk with Philip Noel-Baker, he gained the impression that the election would be postponed for two months and he cabled Mr. Sofoulis to that effect. However, there seemed to be a change of policy when the question of Greece was raised at UNO.

As to the election itself, he stated categorically that it was farcical, the electoral lists had been faked, and there had been compulsion. For example, during March the civil servants were threatened with dismissal if they did not vote, and their chiefs could and did demand, after the election, the production of their booklets as evidence of their having voted or otherwise. He gave specific examples. Terrorism, he said, was rife in villages where the local gendarmes operated.

He made the following observations as to the conditions and the time of the election:

" If the Left parties had participated, greater terrorism on the part of the Right would have been the result. The Left, by not participating, had prevented the outbreak of civil war on the day of the election."

He said that ten to fifteen people were being murdered by monarchists daily and that the situation was becoming intolerable. He went on to say that he intended to make a tour of the country, but he could not guarantee his safety.

We had a long interview with Professor Svolos, the leader of the ELD Socialists, who do not now form part of the EAM coalition. He spoke to us about the elections, saying that the ELD Socialists wanted both free and fair elections and the withdrawal of British troops. It was his firm conviction that under conditions of fairness, all the parties of the Left could get a majority of 65 to 70 per cent against the restoration of the King. But law and order must first be re-established.

" The Allied Observers," he said, " did not pay enough attention to our suggestions, and paid too much attention to the one question of reprisals. On the question of abstention they gave figures that showed that out of the total population 40 per cent abstained, and then said that only 9.3 per cent of these were

political. This was untrue. It was not possible to abstain merely through indifference, owing to the pressure on people to vote. It is a well-known fact that thousands of votes were illegally cast, and the Mission admitted that the registers were not fair. They now ask for a recompiling of the registers, based on a new census. If this is now necessary, how could the election have been fair? It appears as if the observers were acting on the instructions of their Governments, and I personally got the impression that they had already made up their minds as long ago as last January.

" It was quite evident that the elections would result in a Right-wing Government, and Sofoulis said this time after time to Mr. Bevin. Mr. Bevin's failure in foreign policy is complete, because he has consolidated and strengthened the Right.

" We Socialists in Greece are compromised by his policy, as the people say to us: ' If you are of Bevin's party we cannot join you,' and they turn more to the Left. The victory of British Labour in the general election was a day of jubilation to all of us in Greece. But slowly, day by day, we have been disappointed. The presence of British troops has caused a moral deterioration in Greece in the attitude towards Great Britain, and the friendly feeling of the last 200 years is now at its lowest point."

Also speaking to us of the elections, ex-Premier Sofoulis said: " Mr. Bevin knew from the information that I gave him that the election would result in a victory for the extreme Right. I also told him that the first action the extreme Right would take would be to restore the King."

Throughout our visit we found that, with the exception of the extreme Right-wing, everybody said that the Election was carried through by means of forgery, perjury, terrorism, assassination and every possible form of corrupt practice.

SECTION II.—VIEWS ON THE PLEBISCITE

In our interview with ex-Premier Sofoulis a considerable time was spent in discussing the plebsicite. We took detailed notes at the time, and the following is a summary of Mr. Sofoulis's views on the question:

" If Bevin gives his approval for a plebiscite to be carried out in the near future, then a situation of civil war is more than imminent and highly probable.

"In November, 1945, a programme was submitted to us by Mr. Bevin that elections should be held in March, 1946, and the plebiscite in 1948. During the interim period, it was suggested, there would be an opportunity for the restoration of law and order and economic reconstruction, and thus the people would be calm when they had to decide. I accepted this plan, and as far as the elections were concerned I carried out my part of it, though I did this with the greatest reluctance and warned Bevin that a serious situation would develop. I told him that if the elections were postponed and the Left participated, then the reactionaries would not have a majority, indeed no one would have a majority, and a Coalition Government would result.

"I always warned against the dangers of abstention. The Right would gain a majority, and a reactionary State would be the result. I said to Bevin: 'If you give a postponement of two months to facilitate the participation of the Left, and if the Left do not take part, then I will continue the struggle. I am being squeezed between the two sides, and there will be few who will have the courage to vote for me. The Centre will be totally destroyed.' I also told Bevin that I would not do anything contrary to British interests. He insisted that I must take steps to see that the elections were held in March, but I told him that it was my duty to say what the result was likely to be. However, whatever the results, I had the assurance of Mr. Bevin that the plebiscite would be held two years later. When I held the elections, I did so to fulfil my obligations to Bevin, but I did so on condition that the plebiscite would not be held until 1948, otherwise I would not have been prepared to hold the elections.

"I hope Mr. Bevin, who is known to be a man of honour, will keep his word and insist on the second part of the programme —the date fixed for the plebiscite. If not, I fear the danger of civil war. I should like to convey to Mr. Bevin, if he remembers me and loves Greece, that he must keep to the agreement as regards the plebiscite."

Mr. Sofianopoulos, ex-Foreign Minister, also expressed the view that the plebiscite should not take place this year, and Mr. George Mavros also expressed himself quite specifically. He was among those who reached agreement with Hector McNeil concerning the formation of the Sofoulis Government and the fixing of the dates of the election and the plebiscite. He said that he would never have agreed to the March 31 election if he had known that the promise of the British Government,

that the plebiscite should not take place for another two years, would be broken.

The above views are those of Liberals. Everybody to the Left of the Liberals voiced similar or even stronger views with regard to the proposal—of which we got news while it was still only a rumour—that the date of the plebiscite would be brought forward to September this year.

CHAPTER SIX. THE POLITICAL SITUATION

SECTION I.—THE LAST VESTIGES OF DEMOCRACY

We consider, as a result of our investigations, that the political situation in Greece may be characterised as one in which the last vestiges of democracy are being destroyed.

It cannot yet be said that a completely fascist state exists while the following conditions continue:—

(1) May Day celebrations and large Left-wing meetings are still allowed (in the big towns only and accompanied by numerous acts of terror and arrests).

(2) The Left-wing press is free to print nearly anything it desires (where its printing plant and offices have not been smashed up and its distributors not attacked by the Right or the Army) but its free circulation is effectively prevented in the countryside.

(3) Free trade unions are allowed to function—although hamstrung at every turn by refusals to allow funds to be collected, the arrest of leading members, etc.

(4) Left-wing parties are allowed to exist legally, although every office of EAM and EPON (its youth organisation) in Athens, Volos and Salonika, has been smashed up, some as many as seven times, and to have been a member of ELAS (the Resistance Army) means that you are liable at any time to be thrown into jail for having killed members of the German-recruited Security Battalions during the Occupation. Even singing or whistling a Resistance song in the villages leads to a beating-up by the gendarmerie.

There were, however, signs that the new Tsaldaris Government does not intend to allow even these last vestiges of democracy to remain for long. In support of this we quote five of the numerous indications which came to our notice.

(1) The "Security Committees," which were used by the Dictator, Metaxas, as a weapon against his political opponents, are being revived by the new Minister of Public Order, Mr. Spiro Theotokis.

These committees which consisted of the Chief of the Gendarmerie, the Prefect of the Province, the Public Prosecutor, and a Judge, could decide if "public order and security" were threatened, and could exile those "convicted" from particular areas. Mr. Theotokis told us with pride that he had made them "more judicial" by adding another judge and taking the right to vote away from the Gendarmerie Chief; he said he had also added the right of appeal to the Governor-General; but he did not deny that the committees would be used to exile Left-wing leaders from their villages and towns, and he could not give us an assurance that the public would be admitted to the courts or a legal defence permitted.

Under Metaxas these committees were used effectively to hamstring trade unions and political parties by exiling the leaders to the islands. This could be done by a court sitting in secret, without even the presence of the accused on a specific charge—and they could and did act on suggestions from the police or gendarmerie.

The political opponents of the Right have little enough protection from the law today, but at least they have the prospect (however distant) of trial in open court with legal defence on specific charges. The Security Committees short-circuit all this.

(2) The ban on collecting donations or subscriptions is a very real weapon for making the carrying on of "legal" organisations almost impossible. This method involves the arrest and beating up of collectors and the confiscation of the money collected by organisations ranging from the GCL (Greek TUC), to the EA (the Red Cross of the Resistance), and the Panhellenic Union of Democratic Associations. Even the League of Greek Women for Women's Rights was forbidden to take part in an international collection for the benefit of child victims of the war!

(3) An attempt is being made to set aside the election of the administration of the GCL, held under the supervision of the British TUC, and declared valid by the World Federation of Trade Unions. This was being done by means of a High Court action by the "breakaway" trade unionist and Populist

(Monarchist) M.P., Makris, who only secured seven per cent of the votes in the Greek trade union elections. We have already commented upon the attitude and composition of the Greek judiciary today.

Another straw in the wind is the dissolution by the Tsaldaris Government of a committee for the distribution of UNRRA footwear set up by the previous Minister of Labour. The workers had been represented on this committee by the GCL. The work of the committee has now been handed over, first to Makris, then, following a protest by the GCL to a new committee on which Makris was given equal representation with the official GCL representative.

(4) We got an indication in Salonika that the gendarmerie was about to be purged of its few remaining democratic elements —all those who fought with the Resistance had already been eliminated; and thus transformed completely into a weapon of the Right for use against the Left.

(5) While we were in Greece the monarchist newspaper, *Embros* asserted that Greece was "terrorised by the Communists" and called on the Government to "render itself indignant and to launch a ruthless offensive by 120,000 soldiers, gendarmes and police, to start exhaustive investigations, to fill the workers' districts with mechanised patrols, to call the British forces to help in the task, and to arrest Zachariades (Communist leader) as soon as he spoke of self-defence." Bearing in mind ex-Premier Sofoulis's remark, that the extreme Right call even Liberals by the name of "Communists," this call from a Right-wing newspaper is extremely ominous.

SECTION II.—THE RESPONSIBILITY OF BRITAIN

It is with regret that we have to report that wherever we went we were told by all Left, Centre and trade union supporters: "We have always been friends of Britain, but if this present policy is continued we shall be forced to regard the British as our enemies."

We discussed the position of British troops and the probable effect of their withdrawal with all the leading personalities we met. From the Greeks of the Left and Centre there was a unanimous desire for their immediate withdrawal, if possible with the prior formation of a more widely representative government and the establishment of conditions for new, fair elections. But

even if these conditions could not be fulfilled, the general opinion was that the longer the British stayed the worse would be the disorders that would follow their departure. Their immediate withdrawal would be the lesser of two evils.

We would especially like to draw attention here to our interview with Professor Svolos, quoted above, leader of the ELD Socialist Party, which is outside EAM and sharply distinguishes itself from both the Communists and from the Socialists within EAM.

Professor Svolos was no less critical of British policy in Greece than any of the other democratic leaders to whom we spoke, from Sofoulis, the Liberal, to Zachariades, the Communist.

Just as the Left, up to and including Mr. Sofianopoulos and the Left Liberals, felt that they could expect no justice or protection from the law or from the gendarmerie, so also they felt that they could not expect any protection from the British Army or missions. It is hardly conceivable that a Government of the Right would ask for British aid in defending the Left against its own supporters!

The comments of ex-Premier Sofoulis on the present state of law and order, quoted above, deserve the closest attention.

The Left and Centre politicians were further convinced that the Right would prove to have no real backing in the country once the British withdrew. The same opinion obtained about the Police Mission, and there was a widespread feeling that the presence of so many British and American advisers in the key Greek Ministeries was an infringement of Greek independence.

The Right, on the other hand, were insistent that the British should stay, as were the higher British officers and officials. The British "other ranks," however only wished to get home and were quite unable to understand the reason why they were still being kept in the country of an ally.

On the part of the ordinary Greeks there was a not unnatural tendency to be irritated at the continued retention of many of the best buildings, theatres, etc., by the British, and such minor examples of bad manners as the daily stopping of all the traffic in the main street of Athens for at least fifteen minutes, while a ceremonial changing of the guard at British Headquarters is performed.

In Salonika Dodds and Mrs. Pym interviewed the acting British Consul, Mr. Peck, and also Colonel Gordon, the British

Police Adviser. When Mr. Peck was asked how many acts of terror had been recently committed he produced a list which, on examination, proved to consist entirely of acts committed by the Left against the Right. When this was pointed out, he said he had a list somewhere of the acts of terror alleged to have been committed by the Right, but this second list was never produced. One notable comment by Mr. Peck, in relation to British policy, was that Governments may change, but foreign policy does not change.

In the interview with Colonel Gordon, the delegates were able to provide a considerable amount of information concerning events in the Sohos area and other matters which had been drawn to their attention. Colonel Gordon admitted that his men were very few for the territory to be covered so that, in fact, he was mainly dependent on reports from the Greek police and gendarmes.

In Athens the whole delegation had interviews with the British Ambassador, Sir Clifford Norton, and with the head of the Police Mission, Sir Charles Wickham. The latter interview lasted from 10 p.m. to 1.30 a.m. and at the end of it Sir Charles remarked that he had "never learnt so much on any night in his life."

In the course of these interviews we became firmly convinced that the highest British representatives in Greece receive most of their information from Greek official police, gendarme and army reports; reports which we know from our own experience to come almost without exception from sources sympathetic to the extreme Right. We further know, from our experience in the consulate at Salonika, that even when reports of Right-wing terrorism are placed in British hands, they tend to get mislaid as compared with reports of terrorism on the part of the Left.

SECTION III.—CONCLUSION

Greece is rapidly becoming a fascist state. Under a façade of democracy, there exists a unilateral civil war, the war of the extreme Right against all democratic elements to dare to disagree with the Government. Murder, illegal imprisonment, brutal assault and intimidation are the fate of thousands of victims. The gendarmerie and police are fascist and rotten to the core and take a foremost part in these criminal activities and openly collaborate with the "X"-ites—the fascist terrorists. If a Greek citizen has the temerity to complain about the conduct of the

police he is immediately beaten up and imprisoned, frequently without a charge being made against him, or sometimes on a trumped-up charge.

The premises of Republican and Left-wing newspapers, Trades Union organisations, Youth Clubs, etc., are illegally raided in all parts of the country and are shut down. For instance, one hospital in Athens which was known to be largely attended by wounded Resistance fighters, but which, nevertheless, gave aid to all, has been closed.

The judiciary works hand in hand with the gendarmerie and is viciously reactionary. Those judges who refused to collaborate with the Germans no longer hold their posts. On the other hand, the judges who received their pay from the quisling governments are still in office, and, as in the trial now proceeding at Patras, sit in judgment against the heroes of the Resistance Movement.

The Security Committees which did such infamous work for the Metaxas dictatorship, are now being set up again as an instrument for breaking up the Labour movement and imprisoning and deporting political opponents of the present regime.

Just as happened in Nazi Germany, anybody who disapproves of the present Government is immediately dubbed a "Communist." Even the Right-wing Liberals, the party of Mr. Sofoulis, are characterised as Communists, as Mr. Sofoulis himself told us.

British prestige and moral standing is falling rapidly in Greece. The presence of British troops on Greek soil is regarded as an unwarranted intervention by one ally in the affairs of another allied country. Indeed, the Greek people talk about their country being "occupied" by the British.

We return from our visit to Greece firmly convinced that the Greek people as a whole have a firm desire to be friendly with the people of Britain. We believe that this is the view of all the parties of the Left and Centre. We feel convinced, however, that this friendship is now being rapidly undermined, and will be completely destroyed, unless British policy is modified in Greece and a turn is made towards the fulfilment of our solemn obligation to assist the Greeks—as one of the liberated peoples of Europe—"to wipe out all vestiges of Nazism and Fascism" on their soil.

At present, alas, our policy is having the very opposite result.

The League for Democracy in Greece has at last got a permanent office. It is:—

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21 Bloomsbury Street,
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