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MURDER *inc.* in GREECE



By Olive Sutton

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By OLIVE SUTTON

MOST of the seats in the auditorium were filled by bright-faced youngsters—boys just old enough to borrow their father's ties, and girls the age of trying out lipstick and piled-up hair.

They listened wisely when the speaker mentioned Hitler and Mussolini. But when he recalled "Guernica, Barcelona, Granada, the battle of the Ebro, the fight for the Spanish Republic," they widened their eyes and looked at each other, puzzled.

They didn't know the story of the Spanish Republic . . . the first European battleground against fascist aggression, where World War II could have been prevented. They didn't know Hitler's first blow was struck in Spain ten years ago, and they grew a little restless as the meeting wore on.

It wouldn't have mattered at all if, leaving the meeting, you could think: They don't have to go through that again. But you couldn't.

You could only think: These kids may have to learn the meaning of other names, other battles . . . Salonika, Larissa, Sparta, Corinth, Athens . . . They must learn these names now, before they become the names of lost battles.

We've already fought one war so that one generation could grow up in peace. But in Greece, children die of disease and starvation and stray bullets. Bullets made in America. Those bullets endanger American children, too.

I. AMERICANS ARE KILLING GREEKS

Not a single Greek mother is taken from her children and exiled to the islands without the knowledge and consent of American officials in Greece. Not a single Greek youth, acclaimed for his deeds in the Resistance, is shot without the consent of Dwight Griswold, head of the American Mission in Athens. Not a single dawn is broken by the clump of heavy boots outside the door without the approval of President Truman's representatives in Greece.

The whole world knows this.

The Greek Royalist Army has been equipped with millions of dollars' worth of American military equipment to fight the Greek people.

U.S. officers and men are at the front with the Royalist Army taking active part in the fighting—advising, even leading the troops. Enlisted men are sent into the country to give villagers "orientation" lectures on supporting the war against their brothers in the mountains.

A top U.S. Army official, Lieutenant General James Van Fleet, passes out the orders for the attacks and offensives and raids on villages from his place at the War Council table in Athens.

You have seen the pictures of their victims in the newspapers: straggling lines of men and women facing the firing squads of the American-supported Greek government. Gray men and young men, girls with rough long hair. Some with faces lifted, singing, some with arms raised in last defiance. By fours and sixes and eights, decent people are being shot every day in the week.

Firing squads have already executed over 1,100. Fifty of them women. Nearly 1,000 of them since the announcement of the Truman Doctrine.

Thousands of resistance veterans, trade unionists, other democrats, including women pregnant and with children, have been imprisoned and exiled to island concentration camps.

Over 650,000 people have been uprooted from their homes by the raids and terror of the Royalist Army and gendarmerie, and are homeless, diseased and starving.

Officials of the General Confederation of Labor and of the Trade Union Councils have been arrested and exiled, and hand-picked government stooges installed in their places.

Police raid private homes and offices daily, seizing people who refuse to deny all connections with parties and organizations which were part of the war-time resistance movement.

Millions of dollars' worth of relief supplies rot in the warehouses or trickle into the black market, because the Royalist officials will distribute them only to persons willing to support Royalist policies.

The country's economy is racked with inflation. Luxury goods for the wealthy few are everywhere. Staples for the average Greek family—when available—are at an out-of-reach price.

Wealthy Greek businessmen have exported over a billion dollars because they have no faith in the shaky economy. Some have opened textile mills in South Carolina.

Ninety-five newspapers, including *Rizospastis*, the Communist daily, and *Eleftheria Ellada*, the organ of the Resistance coalition, have been closed down because they criticized the government for these conditions:

With firing squads and rope, the Taft-Hartley Law is operating in Greece. Death is the punishment for striking.

A special version of Truman's loyalty purge operating in Greece has thrown thousands of civil servants out of work. Those suspected of disapproving government policies are threatened with political persecution.

One hundred and fifty thousand Greek children have been orphaned by the long years of warfare, and die every day in the streets of Royalist Greece from starvation and disease.

In the face of this terror and oppression and poverty, the Greek people have formed their own democratic government in the mountains and declare they will fight it out to the finish.

They call their struggle a war of independence, and they consider the men who co-operate with the American Mission in Greece "collaborators," and American military men "enemies."

The \$250,000,000 President Truman asked for his program in Greece a little over a year ago is already gone. Another \$275,000,000 of your tax money is on the way to keep the firing squads in operation, the concentration camps guarded, the guns rolling toward the fronts in the Greek mountains.

And because the Greek people will not give in, officials in Washington are now talking about landing American troops in Greece in force.

The Greek people have been fighting against concentration camps and slave law for over eight years now.

Colonel A. W. Sheppard, who was two years in Greece with the British Economic Mission, has said:

Half of the whole American armed forces could not defeat the guerrillas for the same reasons that the British Army could not defeat the American colonists in the War of Independence. It has been truly said that "thrice armed is he whose cause is just."

II. THE GREEK PEOPLE DEFY HITLER

The Greek people have had no peace for eight years.

For many years before the war, Greece was ruled by a dictatorship directed from the British foreign office. The British installed King George (a relative of British royalty) on the throne in 1936, and Dictator John Metaxas carried out their orders. There were exiles and executions then, too.

You will remember how elated you were when the Greek people chalked up victory after victory against Mussolini's troops in 1940. Those were the amazing first victories in the people's resistance to fascism. Deserted by their government and their generals, the people of Greece were subdued only when the Germans and Bulgarian fascist troops turned the full brunt of the blitzkrieg against them. And then not for long.

Early in the days of the occupation the Communist Party of Greece initiated formation of the E.A.M. political coalition. It was a common front of eight political parties, among them the Agrarian Party, the Communist Party, the Democratic Radical, and so on. It represented over 80 per cent of the Greek people.

They united the people to fight the Nazis and formed a fighting wing which became a legend among the stories of resistance movements. This was the E.L.A.S.

As early as 1943, the British foreign office started plotting with the Greek Royalists in Cairo to return King George once more to the throne after the war and keep their stranglehold on Greece. During the war many statements released from King George's headquarters in Cairo tried to confuse the Greek people and keep from the world the story of the E.L.A.S. resistance and the Greek people's demands for a democratic republic. Winston Churchill

ordered the British Broadcasting System never to mention the E.L.A.S. and E.A.M. in its reports of the resistance battles.

But the achievements and victories of the E.A.M. and E.L.A.S. could not be discounted. The Allied High Command in the Middle East was forced by military necessity to take official recognition of them, just as it had to recognize the contributions of Marshal Tito's forces in Yugoslavia. When liberation was in sight, the contribution of E.A.M. and E.L.A.S. was so widely acclaimed that the Royalists in exile in Cairo accepted an E.A.M. delegation for conferences on a postwar provisional government. That conference resulted in agreement to give E.A.M. six posts in the new cabinet.

So heroically had the E.L.A.S. and civilian population done their job, that when the British arrived in Greece, they found the Nazi occupiers had already departed—four days before their arrival. The E.L.A.S. had set up provisional administrative organizations throughout the country to meet the immediate needs of the people. The native fascist bands, which had fought with the Germans, were being cleaned out.

It was at a stupendous cost. Greece lost 547,000 men and women during the long struggle—a great contribution to the victory of the Allies for a nation of only 7,000,000 people. Yugoslavia is the only country which gave more in proportion to population.

III. SCOBIE: THE MURDER OF LIBERATION

The British were alarmed by the Greek people's record. They saw their prewar domination seriously challenged. They immediately set out to disarm the E.L.A.S. and impose their own control. First move was to insist that the E.L.A.S. lay down its arms and place itself at the mercy of the armed fascist bands.

The people protested. They poured into the streets for tremendous public demonstrations. They were indignant and determined not to lose the sovereignty they had fought for so bitterly and long.

British troops fired on such a demonstration in Constitution Square, Athens, in December. The unarmed people were killed and injured. For 33 days the British kept up their attack. They strafed, shelled, even used their battleships for barraging the E.L.A.S. and its supporters.

Thousands were killed—men, women and children. The people

dipped rags into the blood of those slain by the British and made banners of them. The name of Scobie, British commander in Athens, became one with history's worst killers. You remember your own indignation—and the pictures, the reports in *Life* magazine, in the *New York Times*, in many other publications, that shocked and angered you.

World protest and the realization that this kind of massacre was too blatant finally made the British agree to negotiation. A regency was set up to front for their rule. The agreement giving E.A.M. posts in the government was completely scrapped.

At about this time Franklin Delano Roosevelt sent a message to Nicolas Plastiras, premier, expressing for the American people "profound sorrow" over the bloodshed in Greece.

"I have been reassured by your recent statements," Roosevelt wrote, "that the cessation of hostilities will not be followed by reprisals, but will be the prelude to early decisions by means of free democratic processes, on the vexed questions which led to civil strife."

The Varkiza Agreement of February 12, 1945, provided that the E.L.A.S. would lay down its arms, the terror and bloodshed would end, and free elections would be held at an early date. E.L.A.S. carried out its end of the bargain, but immediately the persecution of E.L.A.S. veterans began.

Costas Rentis, then Minister of the Interior, later said that 100,000 arrest warrants were issued. Men and women were arrested for writing the names of E.A.M. and E.L.A.S. on walls, for singing the songs which celebrated their heroism. Schools were converted into prisons to hold all the people—the men and women of the resistance.

The British, meanwhile, reorganized and strengthened the fascist bands with the weapons they had collected from E.L.A.S. The bands had the run of the country, raiding villages, murdering women and children, machine gunning offices of resistance newspapers and organizations, attacking particularly those localities where the people were most famous for their war-time resistance.

All over Greece the people organized campaigns and demonstrations. The E.A.M. reconsolidated its organization and led the demand for enforcement of Varkiza. Many people, hunted by the police and terrorized by the fascist bands, started going to the mountains once more. Among them were many E.L.A.S. veterans.

IV. THE STATE DEPARTMENT STARTS SHOVING

In April, Franklin Delano Roosevelt died. After that, no official voice spoke up from America for the Greek people. The American government gradually changed hands, and the State Department gave tacit approval to the doings of the British—with an eye to that future time when it could administer the *coup de grâce*, shove Britain aside and take over Greece for itself.

Thus, millions of dollars' worth of U.N.R.R.A. goods, to the horror of many U.N.R.R.A. officials, were turned into weapons against the Greek people.

You saw the pictures of Greek children . . . there were pictures like them from other countries, too . . . great heads a-top spindling pot-bellied bodies . . . large dark eyes staring at you. Eyes asking food and wanting to be able to trust the giver.

But while food and clothing and drugs piled up in the warehouses, the children's bodies were deformed by disease and twisted by malnutrition, because their mothers and fathers had fought the Germans and their Royalist collaborators and wanted no more foreign rule. New-born babies did not live long enough to gasp a first wail.

In towns and villages Greek officials picked by the British-run regime in Athens tried to use U.N.R.R.A. supplies to buy the workers' trade union membership, to buy the people's support for the return of the King and perpetuation of Royalist power.

The food rotted and the drugs spoiled.

The U.S. State Department first openly intervened in Greek affairs when it sent a delegation to help supervise the elections of March 31, 1946. The elections were pronounced illegal by the E.A.M. coalition because of the presence of British troops, the terror of the fascist bands sponsored by the British, and the failure to fulfill the terms of Varkiza. The E.A.M. warned that under these conditions the elections could only result in more civil war. E.A.M. followers, the vast majority of the Greek people, boycotted them.

Themistokles Sofoulis, premier then as he is today, protested to British Foreign Minister Bevin that the elections could not be carried out fairly because of the terror.

During the six weeks before March 31, 1,289 persons were assassinated.

Helen Crosby, a member of the American supervisory mission, resigned because of the things she saw.

Later she explained: "I resigned because the total ultimate effect of our intervention in Greek affairs would clearly be to establish an unrepresentative, undemocratic government and thereby to encourage a new and more terrible civil war."

Among the irregularities she witnessed were the police terror and fixed electoral lists. In one village near Salonika, she recounted, her group checked 38 names from a registration of 300. Of these 38, they found that only eight existed.

"And if you think that the dead cannot vote," she said, "then you are mistaken."

The results gave the Royalists 296 seats in the Parliament out of a possible 351. In September another staged election brought King George back to Greece.

After that, one shaky cabinet followed another in Athens, each of them constituted around the same civil war policy, relying wholly on British support for power. Trade unions, newspapers, the whole Greek people continued to protest with strikes and demonstrations.

The Royalists and their British backers started the movement to liquidate the trade unions, to cut the people off from the organizations through which they could speak. More and more people were forced to go to the mountains to escape the terror and poverty. There the E.L.A.S. was reorganized, able finally to fight off its fascist attackers. Its tactics were the classic tactics of guerrilla warfare. The partisans fought when attacked, and when they could extend their lines and gain new territory which would help them support themselves.

Students and teachers, doctors and priests, nurses and small shopkeepers were in their ranks. Their arms were weapons captured from the fascist bands—German and Italian and British.

V. THE COMING OF THE COLONIAL MASTERS

The British record in Greece was by now recognized as an outrage throughout the world. Members of the British Parliament went to Greece to investigate, and confirmed the existence of terror and suppression, of waste and corruption, of civil war

forced on the people by these conditions. The British people, faced with increasing economic difficulties at home, demanded withdrawal of British troops, and an end to "operation rat-hole."

That was where the Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine came in. Up until March 12, 1947, when President Truman announced his program for Greece and Turkey, Britain together with U.N.R.R.A. had spent a total of \$800,000,000 in Greece. It was an expense the British Empire, worn-out from war, and attempting to reconstruct its economy on the out-moded prewar basis, could not keep up.

The United States, which had emerged from the war the most powerful capitalist nation in the world, took advantage of Britain's every weakness. First there was a loan to the British government. It became starkly evident that the U.S. State Department would pay Britain's way where it chose, always holding the strings on the British people's own aspirations for a real socialization program. Among other things, the British foreign office conceded the State Department domination in Greece.

President Truman's proclamation of the Truman Doctrine was his administration's first open declaration of this policy to extend American control over large parts of the world—by force, if necessary. It was couched in Hitlerian phrases about "stopping Communism."

Everyone recognized it for a military program and very soon Truman stopped talking about reconstruction. "The rebellion," he said, must first be liquidated.

When Dwight Griswold and his mission arrived in Athens in July the Royalists extended them a royal welcome. There were to be a few minor disagreements, on the formation of the present Sofoulis cabinet, for instance—a move initiated by the Americans to give the Royalists a more respectable front for the world.

But the American officials were guaranteed power in black and white—by a note from the Greek government, and by an agreement putting the Marshall-Truman Doctrine into operation.

The Royalists had signed Greece over to the State Department. It was an American colony, and Truman's representatives came as colonial administrators.

What country in the world could accept such terms at any price and pretend independence?—terms which gave a foreign power control of all important government departments: civil service,

agriculture, public works, distribution, export and import control, internal economy, army, navy. . . .

In order to expedite recovery in Greece and because of the large financial contribution of the United States to Greece, [the note of June 15 said] the mission should participate in the development of revenue and expenditure policies, approve government expenditures which directly or indirectly involve the use of American aid, take part in the planning of the import program and approve the use of foreign exchange. . . .

The planning and supervising of the administration of the program of public and private imports and exports will be centralized in a foreign trade committee comprising Greeks and American technicians and headed by an American in the employ of the Greek government. . . .

The Greek government would also wish the mission to assist in execution of reconstruction projects, improvement of public administration, technical training of civil servants and other personnel, continuation of the health program, development of exports, programming and distribution of government-purchased supplies, promotion of agricultural and industrial recovery, and regulation of wages and prices. . . . In general, the Greek government will wish to consult with the mission before taking any economic steps which might effect the success of the American aid program. . . .

American "experts" and "advisers" ensconced themselves in government offices. Theirs was the last word.

Article Nine of the June 20 agreement gave the State Department control of Greek relations with all other countries:

The government of Greece will not use any part of the proceeds of any loan, credit grant or other form of aid rendered pursuant to this agreement for making of any payment on account of the principal or interest on any loan made to it by another foreign government . . . will not, except with the approval of the government of the United States, allocate any funds or make available any foreign exchange for payment of principal or interest on the foreign indebtedness now in suspense of the government of Greece and of all other public and private debtors.

If Americans had been willing to make such a settlement with the British back in 1776, the British would have joyfully accepted

it. But they wrote a Declaration of Independence and took down their firearms. We fought then as the Greek people are fighting now.

* * *

American corporations have been swift in seizing the opportunity this kind of an arrangement gives them to take over Greek industry. Some of them, of course, had a foothold in advance of the Truman Doctrine.

Mines, Incorporated, a large American concern, has leased all the lead mines in Thrace for \$10,000 a year. The contract exempts the company from all taxes, permits Mines, Inc. to import foreign labor to work the mines, and includes a clause allowing it to withdraw at the end of two years the \$100,000 it put on deposit for the project.

A similar agreement gives Trans-World Airlines the majority of shares in the Greek Internal Airways Corporation. When that arrangement was announced, Greek pilots and ground crews went on strike in protest.

The Cooper Construction Company has control of the country's main source of minerals and hydroelectric power—the Ahelos river valley—and has contracts to develop it. Ulen Water Works, another American outfit, controls all Greek water supply projects.

The big five tobacco companies in the United States have a stranglehold on the Greek tobacco industry—the country's largest export business—and have cut it off from its main European markets.

The American Nylon Company has arranged to set up a factory in Athens, and Hellenic Enterprises, Inc., American owned, has contracted for the manufacture of nylons, household goods, medical and electrical equipment in Greece.

One of the things that makes Greece so attractive to foreign investment is the fact that the trade union movement has been crushed and cheap labor is plentiful.

VI. WAR AND REBUILDING IN THE FREE MOUNTAINS

It is against this kind of economic and political colonization that the people of Greece are fighting. During the years of resistance to the German occupation, the Greek people envisaged

a free postwar Greece, without King and without foreign interference.

They call their present battle a "continuation of the struggle of World War II" and the first-line offensive against the makers of World War III.

The Provisional Democratic Government, announced by General Markos in December, sprang from a small area near Grevena. There, in 1946, Greeks elected the first People's Council, established schools for their children and started the first "battle of the grain," cultivation of wheat to feed their Army.

Markos was a tobacco worker and Communist who had organized the E.L.A.S. in Macedonia early in the war. Today his Democratic Army numbers over 50,000 troops and has liberated more than 70 per cent of Greece. It has occupied towns within 20 miles of Athens. The people have set up over 200 schools, two universities, nearly 1,000 People's Councils, People's Courts, and a Court of Appeals.

With the establishment of their own Democratic government, the Greek people have declared the Athens government illegal, maintained by force of foreign arms. They have named the quislings who are collaborating with the State Department—men like Constantine Tsaldaris, spy for the Hungarian Nazi regime during the war, who turned information over to the Germans for use against the British and Americans. Men like Napoleon Zervas, chief of the Security Battalions for the Nazis and for the Royalists until last September, who at this date is visiting in the United States, mostly in Washington.

The Communist Party is prominent in the new government of Greece, as it is in most of the new democracies which have emerged from the people's liberation movements.

It led in the formation of the E.A.M., and was the creator of the E.L.A.S. liberation army. Its program then was the coalition program—worked out on the basis of the demands of the people, accumulated over many years of dictatorship and war. The Atlantic Charter's guarantee of self-determination was its kingpin.

When E.A.M. delegations went to the Athens government in the hope of working out reconciliation, they presented proposals for a coalition which would include representatives of all Greek political parties. The one condition was withdrawal of all foreign troops. They urged a genuine amnesty, establishment of a pro-

visional government, and a new, free election—without terror, without the threat of foreign arms.

Today the situation has changed. The Democratic government has no quarter for political leaders who have permitted Greece to be colonized by American finance and armaments. It is willing to deal only with democratic political parties which stand and fight for Greek independence. Accordingly, it has gone ahead with an amnesty program of its own, based on the "reconciliation" principle—the unity of the whole Greek people. It permits any Greek citizen to join its fight for liberation without fear of reprisal for past acquiescence to the monarcho-fascist policies.

The Democratic government has also proceeded with nationalization of the large landed estates. King Paul's 8,000-acre estate in Thessaly, for instance, has been divided among peasants dispossessed by the ravages of the Royalist Army.

It guarantees trade union rights—the right to strike, the 40-hour week, vacations. The lockout is outlawed.

It guarantees free education—furnishes textbooks and other equipment, and provides education in their own language for the Slavic and Turkish national groups.

It has initiated special measures to alleviate the economic difficulties of the people living in liberated territory, such as liquidating all debts payable to the agricultural bank. One of its biggest projects is the constant resettlement of peasants displaced by the attacks of the Royalists.

VII. U.N. BALKANS COMMISSION: WHITEWASH FOR THE BIG LIE

You are probably wondering about the "assistance" which the Athens government and American officials claim the Democratic government and Army is getting from Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. The pity is that there has been no assistance at all.

The charges of assistance and invasions have been baseless howlings. And if there had been assistance, it could hardly be grounds for charging "threat to the peace," when the United States government is in fact feeding the fires of war with millions of dollars' worth of arms and equipment to the Greek quislings.

Let us examine the "evidence" the Athens government advanced for these charges when the United Nations sent its Investigating

Commission to Greece. You will see that there is no evidence of any kind, and that the State Department has used the United Nations to promote its own designs in Greece, to cover its own provocations against the republics of the Balkans and the Soviet Union.

The Greek government charged that guerrillas came from Yugoslavia on September 16, 1946, and attacked the Royalist garrison at Sourmena, withdrawing again into Yugoslav territory under protective fire from the Yugoslav frontier guard.

A communique from the Third Army Corps of the Royalist Army published on September 22, 1946, said this of the incident:

The mopping-up operations undertaken against the anarchist groups in the Doiran sector ended on September 20 when the above anarchists flew toward the Yugoslav border. Some of the figures published are exaggerated. The Yugoslav frontier guards did not open fire on Greek units. . . .

Two Royalist Army officers, Captain Nikitas and Lieutenant Berovalis finished off the Greek government's charge. They told the U.N. Commission they personally had given the order to their units to shoot at the Yugoslav frontier post. So it turned out that there had been a "border incident," but it was Yugoslavia which had the grounds for complaint. The only other incident which the Commission considered worth investigating was shown to be similarly spurious. On the basis of such hoaxes are we asked to send arms and troops to Greece to "stop aggression"!

Both American and Greek officials have admitted these charges are faked. Last summer they told as much to a Hearst correspondent in Athens, Karl H. Von Wiegand.

Von Wiegand talked with George Papandreou and Demetrios Maximos, and to Dwight Griswold. This is his report:

Papandreou declared "there has been no invasion," reports to the contrary notwithstanding. Maximos had previously made the same statement to me in a lengthy talk I had with him. . . .

Dwight B. Griswold told me very emphatically: "There has been no invasion of Greece. The rebellious bands are Greeks. No foreign uniforms have crossed any frontier. . . ."

Yugoslavia and Albania, meanwhile, have both sent notes to United Nations Secretary-General Trygvie Lie, recording assaults on their territory by the Greek Royalist forces.

VIII. "GOLDEN" AGE OF GREEK TRADE UNIONS

In many countries special committees have been established to assist the new Greek Democratic government and Army. Trade unions throughout the world have protested the Royalist government's suppression of the Greek labor movement.

Yet the most flagrant betrayal of the Greek people in the whole official U.S. record has come from Clinton Golden, of the C.I.O. United Steel Workers. Golden has been in Greece several months as labor adviser attached to the Griswold Mission. He has returned to the United States to defend the liquidation of the Greek labor movement.

According to Golden, the reports of the arrest and exile of labor leaders, the government's anti-strike laws, the execution of trade unionists—all these are "Communist propaganda."

Golden and C.I.O. President Philip Murray have both hailed a "first postwar labor congress" staged in Piraeus March 31.

The Piraeus congress was strictly a Royalist-fascist get-together. The real "first postwar labor congress" was held in March, 1946, and promptly thereafter the Royalists launched a series of decrees to destroy it. The World Federation of Trade Unions had a representative on hand who witnessed and reported the events of the following months.

He was the French trade unionist, Leon Jouhaux, who has since knuckled to French domestic Marshall Planners and now devotes himself to labor-splitting activities. Jouhaux arrived in Greece on July 27, 1946, just two days after the Royalists ordered the Executive of the Confederation of Labor to hand over its administration to the Ministry of Labor. He termed the events that followed "scandalous."

When the Confederation challenged the Royalist order, Ministry of Labor officials escorted by police physically took over the Confederation's offices. Four of its secretaries were later arrested and sentenced to prison terms.

The government then appointed a new executive of 21 members. Seventeen of them were Royalists, and the remaining four refused to serve.

On August 13, the government ordered the Trade Union Councils of Volos, Kalamata, Kavalla and Patras to hand over their

administrations within 24 hours. That action was followed by many more decrees suppressing trade union organizations throughout Greece.

On the basis of Leon Jouhaux's report, the W.F.T.U. executive board in September condemned "the action of the reactionary government of Greece in suppressing the democratic liberties of the workers freely to exercise their trade union rights." It called for world-wide support for the Greek workers' struggle to regain their trade union liberties.

The C.I.O. national convention endorsed this position and pledged its support.

Meanwhile the government's persecution of legally elected trade union officials, and rank and file leaders was intensified.

During June and July, 1947, after the Truman Doctrine went into effect, the arrests and deportations were carried out on a grand scale. Over 5,000 were rounded up for exile without trial from Athens alone. In July, the Secretary-General of the W.F.T.U., Louis Saillant, cabled Trygvie Lie, requesting the intervention of the United Nations in the situation. During the following weeks, the Athens government arrested 15,000 more men and women.

A few weeks later, Demetrius Paparigas, Secretary-General of the Greek Confederation of Labor, sent word to the W.F.T.U. from the concentration camp on the island of Icaria, that of 9,000 prisoners arriving from the mainland, 3,000 were trade unionists and labor leaders. They were in danger of dying from starvation and disease, and many of them were being kept in solitary confinement under indescribably inhuman conditions.

With the recent arrest of Antonios Ambatielos, secretary of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions, no legal trade union leaders are left in Royalist Greece.

This is the record which Clinton Golden would dismiss as "Communist propaganda."

A few weeks ago, a Greek seaman in port for a few days, went to a C.I.O. Political Action Committee office.

What could it do about the situation in Greece, he wanted to know.

It was a very busy organization, came the excuse.

The seaman paused. Then he opened his shirt. His chest was a mass of deep torture scars.

"I have been busy, too," he said.

IX. WORDS—AND ACTS OF WAR

There is no shame in Washington these days, no more pretense. The war in Greece has become for all practical purposes a declared war.

Throughout the Middle East the U.S. Army is standing guard over Standard Oil's vast properties like a she-wolf guarding whelps.

The Truman Administration has flagrantly betrayed the Jews of Palestine and the United Nations for the sake of these interests. The Arabs have been armed to fight the Jews. Denied assistance by Washington, the Jews have been forced to establish their own government and declare they will defend it by themselves from attack.

With the Italian general elections only a few weeks away, an American armada with hundreds of Marines aboard equipped for landing operations arrived to police the Mediterranean.

The huge airbase at Tripoli, only a few hundred miles from Athens, Rome and the Soviet Union itself, is being activated to serve our biggest bombers.

In many other parts of the world, too, American foreign policy is supporting the most corrupt and reactionary prewar politicians. Men disowned by their own people. Chiang Kai-shek in China. Charles de Gaulle in France. Nazi industrialists and Gestapo experts in Germany.

When the republics of Eastern Europe expose the plots of such would-be *gauleiters* to overturn their new democratic governments and reimpose their prewar power, Washington screams "coup" and offers the conspirators shelter in the United States.

To back up this world-wide attack, the Marshall Planners are whooping up the same "stop Communist aggression" war-cry that condemned Goebbels to a despised immortality. American newspapers have just bannered announcement of a 50-year "anti-Red" alliance of Western European nations with the United States that makes the Nazi anti-comintern pact seem like a boyhood prank. Its foundation is a Germany rebuilt on the old Nazi industrial base. Its aim is to turn Germany into yet another base for aggression against the Soviet Union and the republics of eastern Europe; to cut the rest of Europe off from these, their natural trade and economic partners.

The military in Washington openly calculate the shortest bombing route to the Soviet Union. Every other week a George Earle or a Walter Winchell calls for dropping bombs on Moscow now.

The heart of this campaign at home is the drive for adoption of universal military training, for reopening of selective service lists for a new "emergency" draft.

Accompanying this hysteria is the Truman Administration's systematic campaign to wreck the United Nations. For Wall Street, the American delegation at the United Nations betrayed the Security Council decision for a Jewish State. For Wall Street, the Charter was by-passed and the "little Assembly" established to handle cases as the State Department sees fit. For Wall Street, a United Nations Committee passes the months away in Greece, listening to discredited witnesses, viewing staged "incidents," underwriting the American military venture there—all the time with deaf ears and blind eyes turned toward Truman's terror and open war against the Greek people. For Wall Street, the world organization formed by the Allies to preserve peace and forward reconstruction, is being perverted into a veritable "iron curtain" to hide the war-makers' crimes.

President Truman is in this instance consistent. Behind the war talk of his administration are acts of war. He talks about civil liberties for the Negro people, controls to stop inflation, independence for Puerto Rico, and you see: Negro mothers hanged for defending their own lives, children without milk because of high prices, the Puerto Rican people miserable under sugar trust rule.

He proclaims from the White House that his program in Greece is a military program, and that he doesn't want a Communist government anywhere in the world, and you see: warfare in Greece, warfare in Palestine, warfare in China, bases, bombers, naval maneuvers, and strong-arm threats attempting to reinstate prewar dictatorships.

X. 1948: YEAR FOR VICTORY

If this policy is continued the price will be American lives. In the meantime, it is costing plenty of dollars. In terms of take-home pay after taxes, in terms of grocery bills, your weekly

outlay for the necessities of everyday living. For with prices spiralling, the Marshall Plan is gravy for the American trusts.

And there's another price. The current deportation drive is aimed first of all at men and women who expose this war policy, who fight the enslavement of the Taft-Hartley Law, who lead the struggle for price controls, and speak up for the masses of Negro people who demand their rights as citizens, for the masses of Jewish people who protest the State Department's betrayal of the Jews of Palestine.

The vast majority of people in the world do not want another war any more than you do. They are organizing in every country to make themselves heard. The countries of eastern Europe are consolidating their new republics, ever watchful for plotters against their reconstruction and peace-building programs.

But that is precisely the kind of thing that infuriates the she-wolf whose lair is Wall Street. Deprived of their old stamping grounds for exploitation and profit because the people have claimed their resources and industries for themselves, the bankers and trusts howl with anguish. If atom bomb threats and hunger-baiting do not work, the guns go off—as in Greece. If the Greek people won't give in to guns in the hands of Royalist-fascist troops, then American troops must go.

But Hitler with gas chambers and crematoriums could not exterminate the demand of people to be free.

It is not necessary for American would-be Hitlers to learn this the hard way, or for us to learn what our government is up to the way the German and Italian people did. World War II could have been stopped in Spain. World War III can be stopped in Greece.

That means that the Marshall-Truman program must be scuttled and a program of genuine reconstruction and peaceful trade adopted.

You can vote for this kind of a peace program in November. The Republican-Democrat Marshall Plan parties are opposed by a man who speaks in the tradition of the President who wanted the Greek people to have a chance to solve their problems through "free democratic processes," who put bread before bullets.

Henry Wallace has proposed a program of foreign aid in this tradition—a program for reconstruction and trade, for dealing

with the people through their chosen representatives, for dealing with governments pledged to preserve the peace of the world through the United Nations.

Meanwhile, we must demand an end to the shipment of arms to Greece, to the training of troops for Greece, to appropriations for Greek quislings to squander.

General Markos told the people of Greece in a New Year's Day message over the Democratic Army broadcasting station:

During the year the Democratic Army has grown, matured, and become as strong as steel . . . the Americans want to crush the Democratic Army in order to put into operation their plans against the people. They want to enslave the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. But we have frustrated all their plans and realized the chief aims we set for ourselves in 1947 . . . this year, under the direction of the Democratic government, will be a year of victory.

This year can be a year of victory for the American people, too, but we have got to fight for it all the way from now until November.

When the Spanish Republic was attacked by Franco troops armed by Mussolini, we stood up and called it aggression . . . aggression aimed at the whole world.

Did Mussolini ever openly admit he had delivered even one hundred dollars' worth of military equipment to Franco?

He did not.

Did Mussolini and his henchmen shout that they were fighting "Communist aggression" which threatened Spain?

They did.

Today the United States government has proclaimed for the world to hear that over \$250,000,000 worth of military equipment has been delivered to the Greek fascists . . . that American military men are operating at the battlefronts with the Greek fascist army.

Today the U.S. government is shouting with the loudest of the Greek Francos: Communism . . . aggression . . . banditry.

When the Spanish Republic was attacked, we knew where our front was. We let Congress and the State Department and the White House know we knew . . . with delegations, picket lines, petitions, demonstrations, marches to Washington.

"Lift the embargo on arms to the Spanish Republic!" The banners were high in every street, in every city, every town.

Today Harry S. Truman, George C. Marshall, Herbert Hoover, John Foster Dulles . . . have branded the United States an aggressor in Greece.

Where are the delegations, the demonstrations, the petitions?
Where are the arms to lift our banners?



...at's Going On In the World Today?

Do you know what's happening in the world today? Do you question what you read in the newspapers about U.S. foreign policy? Of course you do.

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