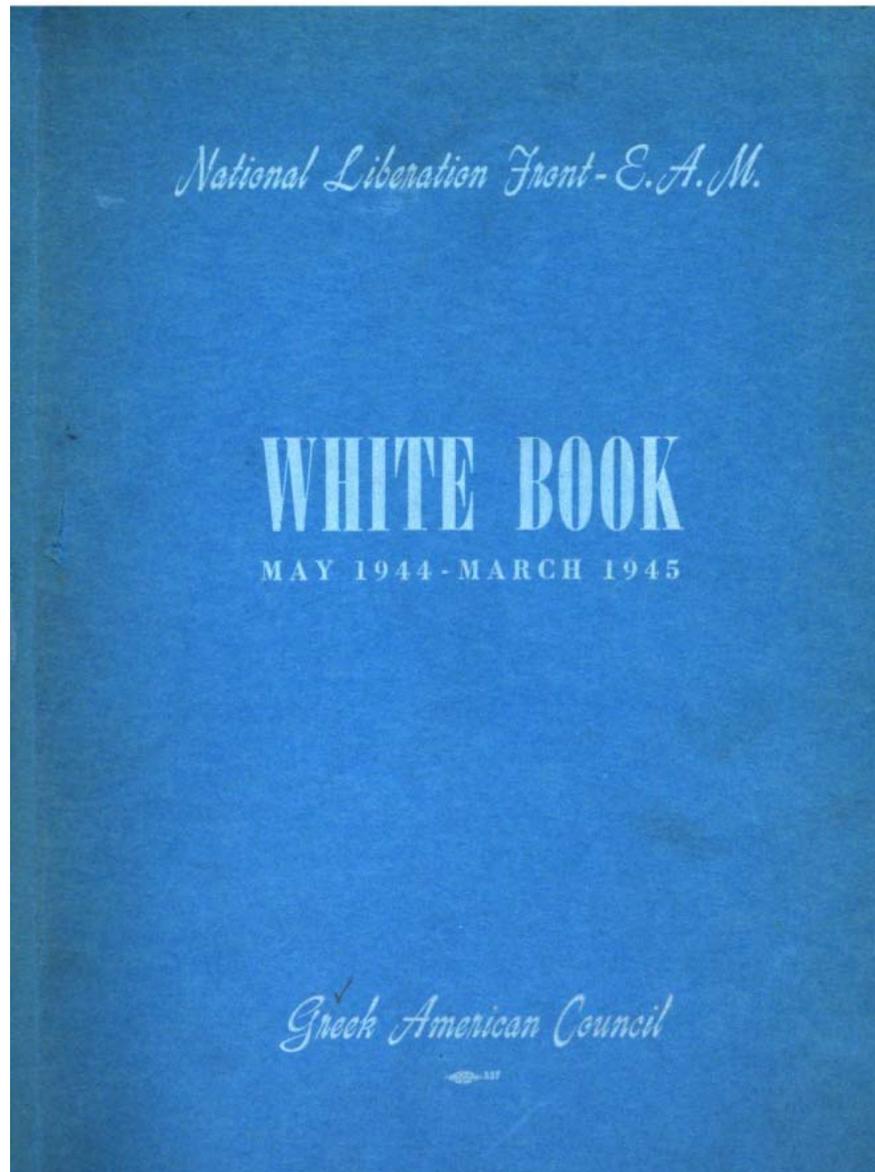


E.M.A. National Liberation Front

White Book: May 1944 – March 1945

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NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (E.A.M.)

WHITE BOOK

MAY 1944 - MARCH 1945

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Introduction

The Greek American Council presents the White Paper of the E.A.M., the documented account of the events of May 1944-March 1945, at a time when the results of those events, and especially of British Intervention and support for Greek reaction, have embroiled Greece in terror and violence.

Instead of bringing "law and order", British intervention has plunged Greece into chaos. Secret military leagues plot a coup d'etat. Armed bands smash EAM newspaper offices, raid theatres, assault and kill democratic citizens. Former fighters of the resistance movement are condemned to death while quislings are acquitted or given light punishments amounting to amnesty. Reactionary plots for the restoration of the monarchy against the will of the Greek people multiply and create an atmosphere of adventurism and anarchy. The economy of the country crumbles in this political chaos and the people starve as unemployment and inflation mount.

And thus the danger grows that the bitter tragedy chronicled in these documents will explode once more in Greece where the people have paid many times over the price for democracy.

Only the fulfillment of the Crimean decisions – the formation of a democratic, representative government which can conduct free elections and an honest plebiscite, and the sending of a joint, allied commission with representatives of the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain to supervise the elections and plebiscite can save Greece from new disaster.

The Greek American Council feels that a complete, factual knowledge in this country of the last disaster in Greece, can help tremendously in preventing a new outbreak.

It is with this hope that we bring out the White Paper of the EAM.

GREEK AMERICAN COUNCIL

New York City

July 23, 1943.

Editor's Notes

Documents originally written in English are retranslated from the Greek in this volume.

Spelling of non-Greek names may be inaccurate since the names were written in Greek characters in the Greek text.

NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (E.A.M.)

WHITE BOOK

MAY 1944 - MARCH 1945

"5- For the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another and as occasion requires with other members of the United Nations with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations.

"6- That after the termination of hostilities they will not employ their military forces within the territories of other States except for the purposes envisaged in the declaration and after joint consultation."

(Excerpt from the Joint Four-Nation Declaration Moscow, 1943.)

"We toll through a mighty maze, but I can assure the Committee it is not without plan." (Excerpt from Mr. Churchill's speech regarding the armed intervention of the British armies in the internal affairs of Greece. This speech was delivered at the House of Commons on January 18, 1945).

TRIKKALA, FEBRUARY 1, 1945

Reprinted in Athens

Foreword

We had not yet breathed the air of freedom; we had hardly succeeded in freeing our sacred land from the miasma of the German-Bulgarian conquerors. We had not gathered up the ruins of the thousands of our burned villages, nor had we honored the graves of the thousands of patriots who sacrificed themselves in the battlefields against the fascists, who were hanged in the public squares, or were machine-gunned against prison walls by the conqueror and by despicable traitors – the Quislings. A new war was imposed on us. A war with no Justification, a war, barbaric in its execution, catastrophic in its effects. This war was waged by the allied British forces whose sole aides were those who yesterday were the comrades of the Germans.

We fought for our liberties, our shrines and our homes for thirty-three days in Athens and for six weeks in all. Our guns were silenced only because we wanted to save the children, the women and the old people, whom the British forces had decided to exterminate through starvation and Inhuman bombardments.

All the peoples of the world stood by our aide in this conflict with aching hearts. And first among them were the people of Great Britain, the people of the world felt that their own, as well as a universal cause, was being determined in the streets of Athens.

In 1936, the people of the world followed with awe the victorious invasion of International fascism against Spanish Democracy. The fall of Spain was a tragic warning that the storm of fascism was impending.

Today the peoples of the world are following the case of Greece with the same agony, mixed with same disillusionment, to see whether Fascism, crushed, will poison the victory of allied arms, whether it will manage to survive. It is here that the declarations of the allied cause are being tested. It is here that the peoples want to see exactly what they have gained through the sacrifices of the millions of dead in this war.

Our aim is not to write history. The blood of the ten thousand non-combatants alone who have been slaughtered is still reeking. The murderers have stained themselves with this blood, definitely and for all eternity. In this book, we give without comment, as far as we can, a list of documents on the causes and development of this war. We offer them to all honest men without any reservations and with a clear conscience. And we look forward to their verdict.

CHAPTER I

I

From The Lebanon Agreement To The Liberation

The war which the reactionary Right opened against the Greek people, with the British forces as its principal and exclusive supporters, has its origin in distant events. One could prove with documents, that the same monarcho-fascist forces of the dictatorship of the 4th of August, which betrayed the majestic effort of our people in the Albanian mountains, were the forces which collaborated with the conquerors and attempted to kill the liberation movement of our people. Moreover, these are the forces which split the National Unity and threw the British armies against our people.

For technical reasons it is not possible at present to include all the documents in this White Book. Our aim is to prove with irrefutable facts that the war of the British armies against the Greek people was unjustifiably declared and continued.

However, we think that the reader would more easily understand who is right, if he has in mind a series of events which preceded our country's liberation. For this reason, we deem it expedient to start our report from the time of the Lebanon agreement.

II

THE LEBANON AGREEMENT

The Lebanon agreement, as it is usually called, constituted the unique political and legal basis of the Government of National Unity.

The Agreement was signed by representatives of all Parties. It is, however, generally admitted that it acquired substantial strength from the time when the forces of the National resistance joined the Government which resulted from this agreement.

The Lebanon agreement contained the terms for the restoration of National Unity, for the fuller mobilization of the united national forces, the liberation of the land and the strengthening of democratic institutions. These terms were as follows:

Document Number 1

"First chapter: The reorganization and the disciplining of the Greek armed forces in the Middle East under the flag of the Greek nation.

"All of us agreed that the Middle East mutiny constituted a crime against our country. Also, all of us agreed that the investigation should continue and that the instigators of the mutiny must be punished in proportion to their responsibility. The argument that they were prompted by the demand for a Government of National Unity cannot free them from responsibility, because, if in war time, disagreement over the Government legalizes a mutiny, then the Albanian Epic should not have existed.

"In what spirit should the reorganization be effected? It was unanimously

agreed that no political criteria could prevail. Only national and military criteria should apply and the reconstruction of the armed forces should be made on this basis.

"We also agreed that exactly from the day the Government of National Unity would be formed, the slogan that military discipline shall be binding, and that political questions cannot exist in the army, because the army does not deliberate but carries out the government's orders, would be transmitted to all armed forces in the Middle East and in enslaved Greece.

"Second chapter: The unification and disciplining of all guerrilla bodies in Free Greece as well as the mobilization against the conquerors of all the Nation's fighting forces under the orders of the Unity Government.

"In this respect also, we believe that concurrence is absolute. All of us agree that guerrilla formations cannot be maintained permanently and that we must proceed speedily towards the creation of our National Army, which must be free from any influence of parties and organizations. and must belong only to the nation, obeying the Government's orders. All of us, however, admit, especially after receiving the letter of the Allied High Command in the Middle East, which reminds us that no change should result in the decrease of resistance, that an immediate change would not correspond to the needs of the struggle. One side agrees that it is impossible to have the guerrilla formations a permanent feature, and the other agrees that it is impossible to have the change an immediate consideration.

"Consequently, the present situation is transitional, and its adjustment will depend on the full initiative of the Government and of the Middle East High Command.

"Third chapter: The end of terrorism in the Greek countryside and the ensuring of personal security and the political liberties of the people, when and where the conqueror shall withdraw.

"The term 'terrorism' was confirmed by one side, and was questioned by the other. We do not consider it indispensable to clarify this term. It is sufficient that both sides have determined that personal security and political liberty will be ensured in the Greek countryside. Efforts will also be made toward the elimination of terroristic manifestations in the cities.

"The Ministers of the Unity Government will be in free Greece, where they will administer the armed forces and liberated Greek populations.

"It has been finally determined, with absolute unanimity, that the mission of the government is to keep in contact with and to guide the Greek people.

"None of us aspires to become a national personage and an expatriate, but all aspire to be fellow-fighters and guides of our people. That is our position. The element of time was the only matter of discussion. All of us agreed that as soon as we shall determine the existence of a condition making possible our presence in Greece, we shall lose no time at all in returning.

"It was a mistake that the political world should choose a negative instead of a positive stand, should choose to abstain rather than to participate.

"The spirit of the new Government will be not negative, but positive, not

to keep aloof but to participate.

"Fourth chapter: Continuous care for adequate shipment of food and medicine to enslaved Greece as well as to the highland part of the country.

"Fifth chapter: Ensuring in the near future, at the time of the liberation of our country in common with the allied forces, the order and liberty of the Greek people, so that they may be able, free from any economic and psychological coercion, to decide, as a sovereign people, on their political regime, on their social regime and on a Government of their choice.

"First subject: As long as there shall exist a Government of National Unity, it will be its task to ensure both order and the liberty of the Greek people, at the time of the liberation of our country in common with the allied forces. And assuredly, it will be in a position to guarantee these major blessings to the Greek people.

"Second subject: The question then arose as to when the people should decide on the political regime and on the Government.

"All of us agree that the people should decide at the earliest possible moment, but also in the most genuine manner and under conditions of full liberty.

"A popular verdict is urgent for Greece, as we have no popularly-elected Government nor a definite political regime.

"Third subject: In the matter of the highest state head, every political figure has a declared opinion, which is maintained, of course, even while participating in the Government of National Unity. Consequently, clarification comes within the aims of the National Government.

"But, I* wish to add that while I regard the existing declaration as of great importance, I attach very little to the new declaration which is being asked for.

"Sixth chapter: The infliction of severe sanctions against the traitors of our country and against the exploiters of our people's misery.

"We are in accord on this matter, too. But, this sixth chapter leads to the examination of another subject, since it is a 'post-liberation' chapter and, consequently, the question arises as to whether the National Government could give a promise on it.

"This fact does convince us of the importance of not declaring that the Government of National Unity will last only until the day of liberation. For, in such a case, it could not give the guarantee for order and liberty during the critical transition from enslavement to liberation, so anxiously awaited by the Greek people.

"There exist, of course, other views also, which must be taken into consideration. For this reason, I think that the best course would be to entrust to the national conscience and to the political judgment of the new

* (Editor's note: The singular form "I" occurs because the terms were read to the delegates of the Lebanon Conference by Mr. George Papandreou in his capacity as Premier.)

Government the length of its tenure in office.

"Seventh chapter: Care for the immediate satisfaction of the material needs of the Greek people, following their liberation. It has been stated that we must work for the preparation of a plan covering our post-war economic rehabilitation. Unanimous accord. It has been stated that all our moral forces must be mobilized for the enlightenment of our allies so that we shall ensure for ourselves a reconstruction priority. Absolute accord. It has been stated that the means of reconstruction should be asked for outright and not as a loan.

"Through the Albanian epic, Greece either saved the war or shortened it by one year at least. If, in return for this service, she asked to receive the allied expenditures even for one day's warfare, would this be an excessive claim!

"It has been stated that our reconstruction should be sought in the marketing of our precious products. It has even been stated that the financial restoration of the Nation should be sought through the free settlement of Greeks not in distant lands, where the second generation forgets its national background, but to neighboring lands with which they have been familiar for centuries and where their presence turns them into national reservoirs from which the State draws its strength. Unanimous accord.

"Eighth chapter: The full satisfaction of our national rights. Our great services and our great sacrifices, the holocausts of our country cannot have any justification save the creation of a new, free and great Greece.

"I suppose that the second passage of this Chapter clarifies the first. Consequently, it can be considered by all as the concrete formulation of our national demands. Our full national restoration and the complete security of our new boundaries constitute a Pan-Hellenic demand,"

"Messrs, Delegates;

"I gather the impression that there has been attained a complete coincidence of views on the National program of the Government of National Unity which is about to be formed.

"If this is so, I propose that the test of the National program, as it has been explained, be considered as our National Contract and that it be signed by all delegates."

March 20, 1944

(The signatures of 25 delegates follow.)

III

HOW MR. PAPANDREOU BECAME PREMIER?

After the Lebanon agreement was signed, Mr. Papandreou began immediately to violate it through a series of acts, omissions and manifestations on his part. He refused to recognize political equality for the National Resistance

forces. He determined, according to his judgment, the number of seats in the Government, while limiting to only five the seats which the resistance forces would receive. He refused to denounce the Security battalions which served under the orders of the conqueror. He reorganized the Naval and Military forces in the Middle East appointing monarcho-fascist officers, etc., to important positions. The National Resistance forces, which were represented by the Political Committee for National Liberation (PEEA), in their telegram, under date of July 29, 1944, declared that they were ready to participate through their representatives in the Government, on the condition that Premier Papandreou would be replaced by someone else, so that a proper atmosphere of mutual understanding would be created. The Papandreou government answered as follows to that telegram:

Document Number 2

"From Cairo N.P. 45. We are happy because you are surmounting the irreconcilable ability of your leaders and are deciding to participate in the Government for the faithful observance of the terms of the Lebanon National Contract. We beg you to send your representatives who will resume the five Ministries agreed upon, i.e. of Finance, Communications, Agriculture, National Economy and Labor.

I, personally, give you the assurance that, despite the contrary unanimous decision of the Ministerial Council, the person of the present Premier of the Government will not constitute an obstacle to National Unity. You asked us repeatedly to denounce the Security Battalions. We have made this denunciation ever since the days of Lebanon, where we characterized them as tools of the Germans for the creation of civil war. But denunciation is not the way to achieve results, so long as the present-day vicious circle of civil war continues. As we said in Lebanon, too, only the realization of full National Unity including the participation of the EAM in the Government, and the substitution for the ELAS army of a national army belonging to the Nation and obeying the orders of the Government, will lead to an automatic dissolution of the Security Battalions, as no Greeks will be found who would dare to take up arms against the regular Greek army."

This telegram would lead one to believe that the Cairo Government had accepted the condition that the Premier be changed. So while we believed that National unity had been effected and were waiting, consequently, for transportation so that the Ministers proposed by the National Army Resistance could depart for Cairo, we received the following telegram:

Document Number 3

"From Cairo to PEEA. Urgent. Due to official confidential communication of British Government, not accepting change of Government's Premier on the eve of liberation, the Liberal, Progressive, Agrarian and Democratic parties are making a last appeal that you send your representatives to take their places in the Government, as it is constituted today. Otherwise, you assume enormous responsibilities toward the nation at a moment when National Unity is more than ever indispensable for the meeting of post-war problems and the healing of war-wounds."

(Signed Venizelos, Milonas, Sakalis, Rentis)

With its historic decision of August 15, 1945, the Central Committee of the EAM, met the situation as follows;

Document Number 4

It ascertains unanimously that the above telegram shows without the shadow of a doubt, that despite all the Allied agreements and the Atlantic and Teheran declarations, to the effect that peoples will be left free to adjust their internal affairs, nevertheless, the British Government, in an unheard of manner in the history of Greece, intervenes openly in our internal affairs and attempts to impose Papandreou as Premier, whom not only the struggling nation rejected, but whose removal was also supported, according to our information, by the most influential old political parties, the Liberals, Progressives and Agrarian Democrats. The English Government, through this official statement, is exercising a pure blackmail at our expense, which it attempts to cover with the excuse that we are on the eve of liberation of our land and that, consequently, this is no time for changes. It indirectly implies that our refusal may possibly result in the retarding of the liberation, something for which we will bear the responsibility, and, also, that our refusal will constitute an obstacle to the granting of material assistance necessary to the post-war reconstruction of the land. Thus, we decided to participate in the Government and in agreement with the PEEA and the KKE we sent the following telegram:

"Greek Government, Cairo for
Venizelos, Milonas, Sakalis, Rentis.

"Following our telegram No. 85, of July 29, containing our general views on unity and the Premier's answer, No. 240, dated August 5, that his person will not constitute an obstacle to National Unity, we received telegram 241, dated August 10, from Venizelos, Milonas, Sakalis, Rentis, stop. Having fully weighed import official statement regarding Premier of Government, we are compelled to declare that we do not insist on the change of Premier stop. Please arrange speediest arrival there of ministers, stop. We consider it necessary and expedient that Government statements be avoided in the meantime. Stop. For PEEA stop Svolos stop. For EAM stop Partsalides stop. For K.K.E. stop Siantos."

IV

THE GOVERNMENT'S MESSAGE TO THE GREEK PEOPLE.

In this manner, through our sacrifices and concessions, the formation of the Papandreou Government was made possible. The Government, in its message to the Greek people, as of September 7, 1944, made the following promises:

Document Number 5

".....The National Contract of Lebanon, with its two major aims of national liberation and the establishment of the people's sovereignty, constitutes the political program of the Government.

.....There also exist shadows, the Security Battalions and, in general, Greeks in the service of the conqueror against Greeks. The National Congress of Lebanon denounced both categories.

"The National Government recognizes this denunciation. We order those who are collaborating with the enemy to give up their affiliations at once. Ruthless punishment will be inflicted on anyone helping the enemy.

".....The People's Sovereignty or Laocracy is one of the major alms. Neither material nor moral influence will be permitted. The free sovereign people will decide on the political regime, on the social regime and on their leaders....."

V

THE CASERTA AGREEMENT

Following this message and on the eve of the country's liberation, the Government moved its seat to Italy. There and specifically in Caserta, an agreement was signed on September 26, 1944, between the representatives of the British Government and the British Military Forces on one side and of the Greek Government and the Greek Resistance Forces on the other. This agreement is as follows:

Document Number 6

"Exceptionally secret. Minutes of decisions taken at the conference held at the A.F.H.Q. on September 26, 1944.

"At a conference held under the presidency of the High Allied Commander-in-Chief for the Mediterranean Theatre and which was attended by the Greek Premier and other members of the Greek Government as well as by the guerrilla leaders General Sarafis and Zervas, the following decisions were inserted in the minutes, as being accepted by all.

- 1) All guerrilla groups active In Greece are placed under the orders of the Greek Government of National Unity.
- 2) The Greek Government places these forces under the orders of General Scobie, who was named by the Highest Allied Commander-in-Chief as the General-in-Command of the forces in Greece,
- 3) According to the proclamation, issued by the Greek Government, the leaders of the Greek guerrillas will forbid every attempt of the units under their command to seize power. Such an act will be considered as a crime and will be punished accordingly.
- 4) Regarding Athens, no action win be undertaken except under the immediate orders of General Scobie, the General-in-Command of the forces in Greece.
- 5) The Security Battalions are considered, as the tools of the enemy. They will be considered as enemy formations, unless they surrender in accordance with the orders to be issued by the General-in-Command of the forces in Greece.
- 6) In order to put an end to the disputes of the past, all Greek guerrilla forces declare that they will form a National Union so as to co-ordinate their activities in the best interests of the common cause."

Following the authority bestowed upon him by the Allied Commander-in-Chief and in agreement with the Greek Government, General Scobie issued the attached orders for operations:

"Brief operational orders issued by the General-in-Command of the forces

in Greece.

- 1) The General-in-Command of the forces in Greece explained that his aim was that the reconstruction of the country be undertaken under the guidance of the Greek Government, while relief material would be distributed to the people.
- 2) Regarding the forces now active in Greece, their military organization will be as follows:
 - a) General Zervas will continue his activities within the territorial boundaries of the agreement of Plaka and will cooperate with General Sarafis for the harassing of the German retreat within the region between the northern boundaries of the Plaka agreement and Albania.
 - b) General Sarafis will continue his activities in the remaining part of Greece with the exception of: 1) the Attica Region. All troops in this region will be commanded by General Spiliotopoulos, who will be acting in close cooperation with the Government members in Greece and who will be assisted by some liaison officer to be named by General Sarafis, and will be under the orders of Force Ho. 140; 2) Peloponnesus. Troops in this region will be commanded by some general to be designated by General Sarafis with the approval of the Greek Government, and who will be assisted by a British Expedition liaison officer. He will be under the orders of Force 140; 3) later on, Thrace (Salonika included) will be under the command of an officer who will be designated by the Greek Government.

3} Aims.

- a) Both Commanders will be harassing the general retreat and will be immobilizing the German Guards.
 - b) While the territory is in process of liberation, both commanders will be personally responsible to the Commander of Force 140, for:
 - I) The observance of law and order in the territories where their forces are active;
 - II} The avoidance of civil war and of the killing of Greeks by Greeks;
 - III) The abstention from inflicting punishment of any kind and from proceeding to unjustifiable arrests;
 - IV) Their assistance in the matter of establishing a legitimate political authority and in distributing relief;
- 4) A map showing the boundaries of operations was given to both Commanders.

COMMUNIQUE

A conference was recently held at the A.F.H.Q. under the presidency of the High Allied Commander-in-Chief which was attended by General Scobie, General-in-Command of the forces in Greece, by the Greek Premier Papandreou with other members of the Greek Government and by the two Greek guerrilla leaders, General Sarafis and General Zervas.

The two Generals in command of the Greek Guerrillas declared that they fully accept the orders of the Greek Government and those of the High Allied Commander-in-Chief, under whose orders the Greek Government placed all the Greek forces active in Greece.

Decisions were taken, with the consent of all, for co-ordination of the fight and for the speediest possible liberation of Greece.

At the discussion on the Caserta agreement, the draft contained a paragraph which stated;

Document Number 7.

"The Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Greece explained that his aim was to restore law and order in Greece, so that the reconstruction of the land would be undertaken under the guidance of the Greek Government during the time when relief material would be distributed to the people. This term was erased because the spokesmen of the National Resistance forces remarked that the restoration of law and order were purely internal matters coming under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Greek Government."

VI

MAINTENANCE OF ORDER

Finally, after the pre-conditions created by the allied victories, the resistance forces, headed by ELAS, drove out the barbarian conqueror and liberated the country.

Thus, it was made possible for the Government to come to Athens, which was liberated by ELAS, and to assume the administration of the land. From the day of the liberation of the land until the arrival of the Government, exemplary order was maintained throughout the land. Here are the impressions of the British officer Mr. Kough:

Document Number 8.

"Great is my joy that I find myself in your free city. I was deeply impressed by the order which prevailed, considering the fact that in times of changes, the maintenance of order and security are among the most difficult and delicate problems. Also, I was greatly impressed by the discipline of the people of Carditsa, who did not resort to any improper action or to anything which would threaten the order and the safety of the city. I am breathing in an atmosphere of true liberty and I am moved by the enthusiastic manifestations of the people, who rightfully rejoice in their freedom after such a cruel enslavement. Generally, I am very pleased with the order which was enforced immediately, with the discipline shown by the people of the city and with the prevailing enthusiasm."

(See newspaper "ANAGENNISI" No. 127)

And the Attica Military Commander, **Mr.** Catsotas, said;

Document Number 9.

"I am fully convinced that the leadership of the EAM is most law-abiding and that it complies readily with the orders of the Greek Government,

assisting the letter's effort. It is not responsible for any manifestation of disorder."

{See newspaper "MAHI" No. 54}

VII

THE PROGRAMMATIC DECLARATIONS OF PREMIER PAPANDEOU

On October 18, 1944 Premier Papandreu made to the people of Greece the following pledges:

Document Number 10.

"We believe in Laocracy (people's rule) and Laocracy does not only mean the right to vote. It also means the right to live, the right to prosper, the right to culture. Through their incomparable struggles and their tremendous sacrifices, our people have won the right to their future..... The basis of our National Army for the future, as has always been the case in Greece and as is always the case with all free people, shall be regular military conscription. The entire Greek people claims the honor to be the defender of the country.

"The well known spirit of rebellion of our armed forces will be abolished. That the Army does not deliberate shall become: a matter of conscience and practice. The sovereign people alone have the right to deliberate, and their will is expressed by the Government, and its orders are carried out by the army..... Also, the reorganization of the Public Security Corps will be sought. During the two periods of the Nation's enslavement, the internal and the external, symptoms of moral crisis were manifested in the Public Safety Corps and especially in the gendarmerie.

"We have not the right to condemn them as a whole, for there also were many officers and men, who under the most difficult conditions, despite everything, fulfilled their national duty.

"But the liquidation and the reorganization will be along most severe lines so that these bodies will in the future inspire full confidence that they will be, not the tools of tyrants for the persecution of Greeks, but the guardians of order and of the citizens' safety.

"There will also be a general reorganization of our public services and of our Judicial Administrative and Educational Institutions, as well as of the other organizations of Public Law.

"During the dark period of our Nation's enslavement, our people acted wonderfully. They gave incomparable examples of idealism and of self-sacrifice. But there was a crisis in the leadership. In large measure the leading class proved unworthy of the people. In the days of the Dictatorship, the University, the Supreme Court and the States' Council as well as our other high institutions, with a few brilliant exceptions, were almost bankrupt.

"But the reign of law cannot rest on solid foundations for the future, unless a moral purge of the past is effected.

"In view of this, besides the purging of Public Services, besides

disciplinary punishments, it will also be necessary to satisfy the National demand for the infliction of just, penal sanctions.

"The National Contract of Lebanon promises the infliction of severe sanctions upon traitors to the country and upon the exploiters of our people's misfortune. The Government, through its proclamation of September 4, repeated the promise that the National Nemesis will be relentless. Now it will keep its promise, The law pertaining to the infliction of just punishment has been published and will be applied immediately. All safeguards have been provided so that the law shall not be transformed into an instrument for revenge and the gratification of passions..... The Government of National Unity is determined to take action for the earliest possible holding of the Plebiscite and of the elections for the Constituent Assembly, as well as of the Municipal and Community elections. And it is a matter of honor for the Government that the popular verdict shall be expressed in an absolutely genuine manner.

"After the long period of enslavement, the time has come at last when the Greek people, free from any physical or psychological coercion will decide, as a sovereign people on the political regime, on the social regime and on the Government of their choice as well as on their Municipal and Community authorization.

*We cannot proceed with the criteria of the past, which are being rightfully questioned.

"There exists an urgent need for legality. The Nation is in need of a definite political regime and of a popularly elected Government, so that it can assume with assurance the effort of building a great future. Until then, only National Unity will help. Already it has benefited our country enormously. Greece's international prestige had been increased and the normal transition from enslavement to liberation has been achieved, although it seemed almost impossible to nearly everyone, with the result that it assumes today almost the proportions of a 'miracle'.

"To all who contributed to this normal transition we publicly offer the praise of the nation, and we express to them their Government's warm thanks, for their discipline towards its orders, which has justified its confidence.

"Our National Unity can achieve similar 'miracles', if it continues in the future with the same sincerity and the same faith..... Returning today to our free country at the head of the National Government, I declare again that I am returning as a crusader for National Unity and I am happy that it has been realized. But it must continue up to the time of the popular verdict which will determine the definite political regime and the Government of the future."

VIII

THE SPEECH OF GENERAL SCOBIE, COMMANDER OF BRITISH FORCES IN GREECE.

Speaking in Corinth on October 25, 1944, General Scobie said the following to the men of the ELAS,

Document Number 11.

"I know your desire to continue the fight, but there is no time to come

into contact with the enemy before he passes the Yugoslav boundaries, where our brave allies, the Yugoslavs and the Russians, will take proper care of him.....

"In taking over the command of all Greek forces, I made it clear that your internal questions do not interest me. I expect all Greeks under my command to cooperate in harmony regardless of party interest. Our first aim is to drive the enemy from Greece. Our second aim is to bring supplies and food. The third aim is to help Greece."

{ "United Press" Dispatch) (See newspaper "MAHI" No. 44)

These are the most important events which occurred prior to the first days of liberation.

CHAPTER II

On The Eve Of The Conflict

Immediately after the liberation the reactionary Right organized its efforts to break National Unity and to plunge the land into the chaos of civil war. For this purpose, it hindered on one hand, the liquidation of the fascistic and treacherous elements from the state machinery, it postponed the arrest and the punishment of collaborationists, and on the other hand, it disturbed the peace of the land by calumnies alleging that massacres had been perpetrated by the resistance movement, and it took hold of key positions in order to launch its attack against the liberties of the Greek people.

I

THE COLLABORATIONISTS ASSUME CONTROL OF THE STATE MACHINERY.

We give here a few facts on these activities Of the reaction;

- a) Spiliotopoulos is appointed Military Commander of Attica. Let us show who this Spiliotopoulos is,

Document Number 12.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE GENDARMERIE
2nd Bureau - Security Division
File No. 771/21/3

Most Urgent
Athens, September 28, 19⁴¹

"To the High Command of Gendarmes, to the Police Administration of Salonika, and to the Administration of the State's Special Security;

"I was officially informed by the Highest Military Authority of Occupation, that many Englishmen, scattered all over the country, have been arrested, with identification cards of the Gendarmerie Service in their possession with their dates altered,

"Irrespective of the astonishment and the painful impression caused by this fact, I am informing you, that the most severe sanctions are in store for the officers, personally, and for other high ranking personnel who issued or who probably are still issuing similar papers.

"To avoid the infliction of these sanctions, which will produce a most unfavorable reaction and very unpleasant consequences for the existence of our State in general, I HEREBY COMMAND YOU, following orders of the aforesaid Authority of Occupation to order at the personal responsibility of the Commanding officers and other officials of the Corps, the seizure of the identification cards thus issued and the arrest and surrender of their English holders to the regional Commands of the Royal Carabinieri.

"Reminding you again of the severe punishment for these matters, I demand the faithful execution of this order."

The Chief P. Spiliotopoulos, Colonel of Infantry.

b) EBERT is appointed Chief of the Police Department. Following a conference with the German Major Kaisler, Ebert Issued the following order:

Document Number 13.

POLICE DEPARTKENT
General Security Division
File No. 1914 No. 314

To the Alien Division

"I request that you submit to me within the shortest possible time, a statement giving the names of all who wore active up to now in espionage as well as the names of others who worked for the benefit of the English. The activity of each person must be shown in this statement."

Athens, June 7, 1941
A. Ebert, Commander

Document Number 14.

POLICE DEPARTMENT
CONFIDENTIAL DIVISION
File No. 4664/25

To All Services

"In view of the document No. 138/12 issued by the Italian Garrison on September 30, 1942, we are ordering the following: You are to report to us immediately in writing every arrest of persons known for their political past, of foreign nationals, English etc., as well as of Communists, so that we may bring these facts to the attention of the Italian Command."

Athens, October 6, 1942
Angel Ebert, Chief of Police

Document Number 15.

POLICE DEPARTMENT
CONFIDENTIAL DIVISION
File No. 6335

To All City Services

"I am conveying to you the following order of the Police Department Headquarters for strict compliance with its orders."

Athens, December 15, 1942
Angel Ebert, Chief of Police

"An impression exists that police are not showing results regarding the persecution of the EAM-ELAS anarchistic elements. It is necessary to overcome this prevailing impression. We must create the impression that the police are not falling short in this matter. The collaboration of the police and the

Evzone battalions is an indispensable element for the success of the purpose explained and it must be complete and absolute.

"I request that you follow up thoroughly the strict fulfillment of this order and that you take the indicated measures."

A. Sabanis

c) Avramides is appointed Military Commander of Salonika. On November 30, the Salonika EAM took the following steps before the governor of Macedonia, Mr. Modis:

Document Number 16.

"We officially charge Mr. Modis that officers of the EDES are conferring with the purpose of disturbing the peace and of proceeding at the proper time to a coup-d'etat in the hope of causing our English Allies to intervene. They are supplying themselves with arms. Mr. Avramides, residing at Mo. 2 Chrisochoou Street, calla together officers and citizens, distributes to them EDES badges, and urges them to be ready for action.

"As a result of the above, the EAM will consider Mr. Avramides responsible for any unlawful acts which may occur in Salonika, and, consequently, we begged Mr. Moils to convey our warning to the Government and to Mr. Avramides. The EAM declares that the people of Macedonia, who have fought so hard for their liberty, are watchful and are determined to preserve with all their power the order and security ensured by the National Citizens' Guard and to crush every attempt for a coup-d'etat which will endanger liberty.

"In answer, Mr. Moils states that he is opposed to any unlawful activity and that he considers as enemies of the country all those who plot against the security of the people.*

(See newspaper "ELEFThERIA")

d) Mr. Modis is appointed the representative of the Government in Macedonia. The following is what Mr. Modis propagandized during the occupation:

Document Number 17.

"The best guarantee for Greece is the admiration of Adolph Hitler in our country. We have every reason to believe that our country will occupy the best position In the New Order."

(From Mr. Modis' article in "ETOH0S" of Florina of November 14, 1942).

e) Two hundred and fifty officers of the reserve class of 1936 are appointed to the newly-formed National Citizens' Guard. Of these, 90% are officers of the Security Battalions. The expose of the scandal compels the Assistant Minister of Mar to submit his resignation.

(See newspapers "ELEFThERI ELLADA" No. 68, "MAHI", No. 70, etc,)

f) On the same day {November 24, 1944) Premier Papandreou stated in his order of the day;

Document Number 18.

"He extends the Premier's congratulations to the National Citizens' Guard for its contribution to the success of the mobilization for the formation of the National Guard."

{See newspaper "MAHI" No. 70}

II

Traffic in Atrocities

The Right attempts to poison the atmosphere by alleging that massacres have been committed by the resistance forces in the Peloponnesus, Macedonia, and elsewhere. Here is what responsible persons said;

a) On November 27, 1944, Premier Papandreou stated the following to newspapermen:

Document Number 19.

"I regret the light-minded publication of monstrous news items. Some weeks ago, it was written that thousands of executions had taken place in the Peloponnesus after the Government was installed in Athens. The emotion felt by all is easily understandable. A few days later this story was denied. Then it was reported that thousands of executions took place in Salonika. This report was also denied today. We are going through a transition period which is proceeding to its end. The duty of all is not to hamper but to facilitate the transition to normalcy. When we returned to Greece we asked two-month's time for the restoration of the State and of the law. I repeat now that the Greek Government will fulfill its pledge on time."

(See Newspaper "ELEFThERIA" No. 63)

b) On the same day, Minister Garoufalias said the following:

Document Number 20.

"Mr. Costopoulos also responsibly assured the Government that absolute order prevails in Eastern Macedonia and Thrace. The number of those who are detained totals only a few dozens of persons who are accused of having collaborated with the Bulgarians."

(See Newspaper "ELEFThERIA" No. 65)

The Minister of the Interior, Mr. Manouelides, stated on November 21:

[Document Number 21.

"The National Government is much interested in the speedy restoration of normal life throughout the country. In this, the left wing, i.e., the EAM and the KKE are outstanding, as they are striving for this goal with absolute sincerity.

"The information which I gathered is most satisfactory to me. Order is everything. It must be absolutely preserved. The punishment of the traitors of the nation and of the collaborationists will be an exemplary one. The people should not have any doubt about it."

(See newspaper "ELEFThERIA" No. 57)

III

THE MOUNTAIN BRIGADE IN ATHENS

On November 8, the Mountain Brigade arrived from the Italian Front and was quartered in Athens. Here is the record of this Division;

As is known, sections of the Greek Army were formed on the Egyptian Front and they fought the conqueror bravely, and, together with the British Armies, won the great victory of El-Alamein, Their strength amounted to nearly 20,000. Those men, anti-fascist in their great majority, left Greece after the German occupation and joined these units as volunteers.

On April 1944, those bodies protested against the fascistic handling of Greek matters by the then government of Tsouderos. They asked for the restoration of unity between the political world, that was holding high the banner of the liberation fight in their enslaved country, and those who were abroad. Also, they asked to continue their victorious fights on the Italian front in Greece. That act of theirs was branded as "mutiny". The sections were disbanded. The victorious anti-fascists are dying slowly in the medieval military camps of the African desert, but their faith in the ideals of liberty and democracy remains unshaken. We promise to show through another WHITE BOOK how that "mutiny" like this "mutiny" which we are examining, is rooted in a secret but relentless fight waged by the dark forces of fascism, stealthily or in the open, against the forces of liberty and democracy. We also promised to bring to light the attempts of the Reaction - native or foreign - to suppress the liberation efforts of our people.

So, after the disbanding of the army formations in Egypt, the Papandreou Government, before the ministers of the Left had joined it, managed to select only about 3000 volunteers and formed the Mountain Brigade, with monarcho-fascistic cadres. This Brigade received its war baptism on the Italian Front and from there (for what reason?) was transferred to the heart of Athens.

IV

WAR CRIMINALS ARE PROTECTED

The collaborationists and the traitors are going about free and are acting in a provocative manner. This is what a Police communique stated, on November 30:

Document Number 22.

Last night the Alien Division Service attempted to arrest certain collaborationists who are wanted.

These collaborationists, who numbered at least eight, entered a taxi in front of the Hotel "Mitropolis". Hardly had the policemen stopped the car at the beginning of Piraeus Street when they were subjected to shooting and hand grenades. There followed a clash which resulted in the killing of the police captain G. Christodoulakis and in the wounding of three policemen. Four were arrested and their guns and hand grenades were seized by the police. They belonged to the Special Security corps and to EDES and were supplied with EDES' military passes for Preveza. Among the arrested was C. Makridimitriou

alias Minas Kathreptis, Special Security agent, who was wanted for a multitude of crimes.

V

THOSE WHO THREATEN TO PROVOKE CIVIL WAR

In the midst of a tense atmosphere

a) Premier Papandreou declared the following on November 27:

Document Number 23.

"We are struggling to prevent a civil war. We are grateful to those who are assisting us in our efforts. But we protest and we accuse those who with inexplicable frivolity are leading every day to civil war. For, there are, unfortunately, newspapers and members of the ruling class who are criticizing us because we are slow in bringing it about.

"We remain indifferent to the mass hallucinations of a part of the ruling class and we will continue our efforts to serve the permanent interests of our country and the people, which consist in the stabilization of our National Unity. We are optimistic for the future, despite all the woosers of disorder and the prophets of disaster."

(See Newspaper "ELEFTHERI ELLADA" No. 70}

b) Broadcast of the Athens Correspondent of the London Radio Station:

Document Number 24.

He extolled the law-abiding attitude of EAM which backs with all its power the national Government.

In the same broadcast he stressed that the unanimous decision of the people is to arrest all traitors to the nation, whose number is not large.

(See newspaper "ELEFThERIA" No. 57)

c) The Secretary of the Communist Party of Greece, G. Siantos, addressing hundreds of thousands of people on the twenty-sixth anniversary of the KXE (Communist Party of Greece) declared on November 19:

Document Number 25.

"Today, we are free but our task is not ended. Many more and bitter struggles will be required so that the people's conquests and their sovereign rights will be fully safeguarded. The internal reaction, all those who placed their pocketbooks above the interests of the country, those who collaborated with the Germans, the Italians and the Bulgarians, those who had armed with German arms an illiterate and hungry populace and given them as a means of livelihood the slaying and betrayal of thousands of fighting patriots, all these are still conspiring today against the tranquility, the normalcy and the reconstruction of our land. They continue to arm gangs whom they turn loose to kill the people, they seek to create chaos and to profit by it. They are organizing a coup-d'etat to overthrow the Government of National Unity, to check the work of normal evolution and to Install a new fourth of August

regime (Metaxas Dictatorship) again headed by the Glucksburg dynasty. For this purpose, they are plotting, intriguing, and slandering our cause to our great Allies, especially to our British Allies. They ask them, in the name of the 'EAM peril' to strike the name of the Greek people from the roll of the Allied Nations, so that Greece may be considered an enemy of the Allies and be occupied as such.

"These are the patriots, who, today, are shouting for a 'big Greece'. Having profited as much as they could from the German, Italian and Bulgarian occupation they seek now to exploit our British Allies for similar purposes.

"We believe that it is impossible that our British Allies should be swayed by such suggestions. We believe that they remain - and that they will continue to remain - true to the principles of the Allied cause, friends and supporters of our people.

"Those 'Greeks' who are destroying the independence of the country for their own personal and partisan ends should know that they are striking at the most sensitive chord of the Greek people. At the time these men were licking the boots of the Germans, the Greek people proved that they had won their independence through their valor, and that they are worthy to keep it and to safeguard it.

"The Greek traffickers in patriotism, {he further said) may continue their debaucheries at the expense of our National honor and self-respect; they may provoke a civil war and heap new calamities upon Greece, but they will not succeed in restoring a new fourth of August regime."*

He then stressed that the KKE {Communist Party of Greece) is the defender of a normal, democratic evolution of the political life of the land, that it fights dictatorial solutions, a fight which is indispensable for the reconstruction of the land and for the progress and the welfare of the nation. "We stand", he said, "and we shall continue to stand, by the **side** of the major Allied Nations, England, the Soviet Union and the United States. We are fighting by the side of the United Nations for the destruction and the uprooting of fascism. We are struggling for a stable world-peace, peace, built on the liberal and progressive spirit of the allied struggle. We are fighting for the independence and the integrity of Greece. We stand by the principles of self-determination for the peoples and for the peaceful settlement of any differences with our neighboring countries. It is in accordance with this principle that we seek the solution of our national questions. We are seeking the strategic adjustment of our boundaries for the safeguarding of our land from external threats. We participate in, and we support the Government of national Unity, because we are basically in accord with the aim of its program. We are supporting it upon the premise that it will fight for the realization of the principles of the Lebanon agreement and of its programmatic declarations.

"We believe that the first basic prerequisite for the enforcement of the Government's program is the already known solution of the military question. They ask," he said, "the dissolving of ELAS and of the National Citizens' Militia. But, simultaneously, the reaction, whose objective is the establishment of a dictatorship, is increasing its armed gangs, and is striving, with all its unscrupulous means, to swing the Mountain Brigade and the Sacred Battalion into a civil war against the liberties and the rights of

* Editor's Note: The Metaxas dictatorship established by King George of Greece.

the people. The ELAS and the National Citizens Guard have shown in practice that they constitute an element of order and a guarantee for the normal evolution of the political life of the country. If the ELAS and the National Citizens Guard should be dissolved, who could guarantee tranquility and normalcy? We agreed with the Premier's programmatic declaration on this matter. We agree that all volunteer groups, which were formed in the interior and abroad, should be demobilized and be replaced by one National Army: one army which will be formed on the basis of regular military conscription and whose cadres will be purged of traitors and fascists. This is really a genuine solution which constitutes a guarantee to all sides, and, above all, a guarantee for serving the nation's interests."

He then named the other prerequisites for the application of the Government's program: The arrest and severe punishment of all traitors, the dissolution of the Gendarmerie, all of whose healthy elements will find their place in the new body of the National Guard, the purging of the Police and of the entire State machinery.

"The solution of the economic question in a manner which safeguards the interests of the broad masses of people, constitutes also a basic prerequisite. We must have real monetary stabilization, confiscation of the fortunes of big blackmarket operators, who became wealthy through collaboration with the enemy, and, also, heavy taxation for those who grew rich from the war and the occupation, There must be immediate and substantial assistance to the Allies, immediate operation of factories, the requisitioning of those factories whose owners are sabotaging production; aid to the peasantry for the development of agricultural production, jobs for the unemployed, through productive public works and their maintenance. Stabilization and rebuilding only at the expense of our people's life is not feasible."

"We are fighting," Siantos added, "so that a free plebiscite to determine the political regime may be held as soon as possible. We believe that only the solution of this question can free our country from the intrigues and the disorders of the Glucksburg* clique. In this manner only will we really enter the path of normal evolution and will we avoid the danger of civil war. We are declaring once more that we respect and we shall respect the people's decision whatever it may be. We are fighting for immediate preparations to hold elections for a Constituent Assembly since only in this manner shall we really enter a normal political life and the true reconstruction of Greece."

d) The Secretary of the Control Committee of the EAM, fellow-fighter D, Partsalides, said in an article in "ELEFThERIA ELLADA" of November 20, 1944, (No. 63)

Document Number 26.

"....The EAM Parties and organizations which struggled at the head of the nation and which share deeply the people's sufferings, know that there is but one road to salvation: the road of normalcy end of order. This is the road for the safeguarding of the people's sovereignty, for the preservation of National Unity, for a Greece truly free, independent and happy, for a democratic Greece, We shall continue this struggle to its victorious end. And to this struggle, we are calling all democrats, all patriots in an invincible

* Editor's Note: Name of the family of King George of Greece.

front. All United for the triumph of order and of normal democratic evolution! Let nil Greeks join the fight for national renaissance. We shall win for our cause is just, is sacred, 1B a Greek cause..."

e} On the other aide, the reactionary press paves the way for the Intervention of the British forces. This is what was published in "DEMOCRATIA" of September 9, 1944:

Document Number 27.

".....For absolutely exceptional reasons, we gladly accept the intervention of our British friends in our internal affairs...."

The stage is now set for the attack of the Right against the Greek people. There remains the pretext. This pretext was the crisis provoked by the military question.

CHAPTER III

The Military Question

I

THE DISSOLUTION OF ALL VOLUNTEER UNITS

Regarding the organization of the army after the liberation, it had been stated:

a) By the Lebanon agreement:

"All of us grant that guerrilla formations cannot be maintained permanently and that we must proceed speedily towards the creation of our National Army; which must be free from any influence of parties and organizations. and must belong only to the nation obeying the Government's orders."

{See more above, Doc. No. 1}

b) Through the Premier's speech on October 18, 1944

".....In its concern to restore the Free Greek State, the Government will seek the reorganization of the Nation's armed forces through strictly national and military criteria, as defined by the Lebanon Contract.... The basis of our National Army for the future, as has always been the case in Greece and as is always the case with all free people, shall be regular, military conscription."

(See above doc. No. 10)

c) On November 22, Premier Papandreou decided on the total demobilization of all volunteer forces. The volunteer forces included besides the ELAS and EDE5 also the forces of the Mountain Brigade. The plan for this which was initialed by Premier Papandreou stated in its article 2, par. 2:

Document Number 28.

".....The men of the National Brigade shall be given indefinite leaves to return to their homes....."

d) On November 21 War Minister Mr. Manouelides said:

Document Number 29.

".....The Government has decided to form a national democratic army which will be composed only of those elements whose record was clean during the fourth of August regime and the Gorman occupation. All existing armed forces in the interior and abroad will be dissolved. In this manner only, as the ministers of the Left also stated, is it possible to create a democratic national army."

(See newspaper "ELEFThERIA", No. 57)

e) In his speech on November 19, (see above document No. 25) fellow fighter Siantos, Secretary of the KKE said:

"We agreed with the Premier's programmatic declarations on this matter. We agree that all volunteer groups which were formed in the interior and abroad, should be demobilized and be replaced by one National Army; one army which will be formed on the basis of regular military conscription, and whose cadres will be purged of traitors and fascists. This is really a genuine solution which constitutes a guarantee to all sides, and, above all, a guarantee for serving the nation's interest...."

II

WHY MR. PAPANDREOU REFUSES TO SEE
THE MOUNTAIN BRIGADE DISSOLVED.

While everything seemed to be developing normally, Premier Papandreou violated his own signature and declared that the Mountain Brigade and the Sacred Battalion should not be included in the dissolution of the volunteer bodies. But let Premier Papandreou give his own justification:

Document Number 30.

".....But, we also were asked to dissolve, together with the demobilization of the volunteer forces, the Mountain Brigade and the Sacred Battalion. There was no such condition in our joint programmatic declaration. Our answer was that the Mountain Brigade and the Sacred Battalion constitute a regular army. Also, that the war is still going on and that these two military units of ours are the only ones which we have available, until the organization of our regular army, for participation in the common allied cause; and particularly we notified them that this is the opinion of the British Government and of the Allied High Command."

(Excerpt from his Proclamation which he had printed in Cairo and distributed to the Greek people, by British soldiers, on December 7.)

III

A COMPROMISE SOLUTION

In their efforts to avert the crisis which was provoked through Mr. Papandreou's violation of the agreement, the Ministers of the Left submitted on November 27, a plan for a compromise solution. This plan and specifically its article 2, said in part:

Document Number 31.

"....A section of the national army will be organized as a token of continued participation in the common allied struggle and to participate also, if it is required in the operations in the areas of Crete and the Dodecanese. The existing Mountain Brigade, the Sacred Battalion and a section of EDES as well as an ELAS Brigade, whose strength will equal the aggregate total strength of the aforementioned forces and which will be equally armed, will participate in this section of the National Army, which will also symbolize National Unity....."

Premier Papandreou published a plan, and claimed that it had been proposed

by the Ministers of the Left. We are citing the plan so that Mr. Papandreou's basic falsifications may be duly estimated,

Document Number 32.

"1) The ELAS, ELAN and EDES forces of National resistance will be demobilized on December 10. The military formations in the Middle East will also be demobilized before they return.

"2) Until our regular army is organized, and in order to continue the participation of Greece in the common allied struggle, besides the Mountain Brigade and the Sacred Battalion, there will also be organized from the forces of national resistance a Brigade of ELAS and a proportionate unit of **EDES.....**"

IV

THE DEFINITE DEMOBILIZATION PLAN WHICH WAS
SUBMITTED BY THE MINISTERS OF THE LEFT

After the perfidious conduct of Mr. Papandreou, the Ministers of the Left submitted a plan in which they asked for the enforcement of the Lebanon agreement and proposed the disarmament of all volunteer units. The plan is as follows:

Document Number, 33.

"1} The national resistance forces of ELAS, ELAN, EDES, the Mountain Brigade, the Sacred Battalion as well as all military formations stationed in the Middle East, including sections Of the gendarmerie in the Middle East, will be demobilized on December 10.

"2) No demobilization of the guerrilla forces will be made In Crete as long as the Island is a zone of military operations,

"3) All those who are demobilized will receive due moral and material compensations.

"4) Only the Government has the right of military conscription, voluntary or compulsory.

"5) All officers and soldiers detained in the Middle East are given amnesty and will return to Greece as soon as possible, through Government facilities.

"6) The officers and the men of the Gendarmerie will be placed under the judgment of the Highest Military Council and of the other military councils, Those officers and men who are found to be healthy elements will be inducted into the new National Guard. Officers and men of the National Citizens Guard who are considered qualified by the respective military councils will also be inducted into the National Guard. Beginning this day and up to the time of the purge the men of the Gendarmerie will be discharged from the service, disarmed, and sent to their homes. Their equipment will be turned over to the National Guard.

"7} The national Citizens Guard will surrender its authority to the Provisional National Guard on the 16th and 17th of December, 1944, and will

be demobilized in accordance with the orders issued. The class of 1936 is drafted in all the provinces of the State.

"8) The Police Corps, at least as far as the higher cadres are concerned, will be purged by December 10.

"9) The guarding of public institutions, prisons, warehouses and the preserving of order and security in general will be conducted only by the legal Greek forces,

"10) The execution of the above decisions of the Government is assigned to the War Ministry.

"11) The enforcement of the law regarding punishments will be speeded up, so that the verdicts in the cases of the principal leaders of the national betrayal, Rhallis, Lambrou, Pappadogona, Bourada, Plitzanopoulos, Papathanasopoulos, Pangalos, Parthenios, etc, will be pronounced by December 18th,

"12) The reorganization of the functions of the State of Justice, Administration and Agencies of Public Law, will be made very quickly, according to the spirit of the Government's programmatic directives. The administration of organizations will emanate from the free election of their members.

"13) The holding, at the earliest possible moment, of the Plebiscite to determine the political regime will be sought, always on condition that it will be wholly genuine,

"14) **On** principle, gatherings, demonstrations and meetings are free. However, the Minister of the Interior is authorized to take the following measures;

- "a) To allow demonstrations only with a permit. Indoor gatherings will be simply announced, but the turning of such gathering into demonstrations is forbidden.
- b) To prosecute severely those who make illegal arrests.
- c) To prosecute those who carry arms.
- d) To forbid the inscription of slogans on walls. Places will be named where the posting of printed matter and the placing of placards is allowed.
- e) To prohibit all organizations, or propaganda, in favor of fascism, and in general any propaganda and action against the people's liberties."

Athens, November 29, 1944

The Minister's Council

The President

The Members

V

WHAT IS THE GREEK PEOPLE'S
LIBERATION ARMY (ELAS)?

What is this ELAS, which patriotically agreed to dissolve, provided the other armed forces should also be dissolved? At that time ELAS had a strength of 50,000 men, while the strength of all the other units was about 10,000 men. Regarding its activity we are presenting a few facts from its long scroll of honor.

- a) The Commander-in-**Chief** for the Middle East sent the following message on June 22, 1943.

Document Number 34.

"The Middle East Commander-in-Chief has noted with satisfaction that the EAM is fighting for the principles of freedom as defined by the Atlantic Charter and he is cognizant of the brilliant achievements of the militant resistance of ELAS against the invader, The Commander-in-Chief in the Middle East follows Greece with keen attention and considers the Greek guerillas as part of the forces under his orders. He will expect from them the speedy execution of tasks assigned to them. He desires that a unified command be formed in Greece to which his chosen liaison officer, Brigadier Eddy, will be attached. His liaison officer will be responsible to him only, for the planning and the execution of all military activities. Brigadier Eddy has knowledge of all the detailed wishes of the Commander-in-Chief and the latter has learned with pleasure that no difficulties exist now for their realization, Brigadiers Eddy will be kept informed of all allied plans and affairs. His Commander-in-Chief finds that only through the above described means will it be possible fully to coordinate the task of the Greek guerillas with the plans of the army invasion of the United Nations."

- b) Brigadier Eddy, head of the British military mission to Greece, said this at the guerillas' Panthessalian conference held in Pindus on July 7, 1943:

Document Number 35.

".....The railroad, road and telephone communications were cut off for many weeks. They were cut off at the time the Germans were sending reinforcements to Greece... In the same period the Germans were shifting their troops in Greece and in your region. Everything worked like a clock and the Middle East Command is fully satisfied. On this occasion, I am conveying to you General Wilson's congratulations and thanks.

"...We all are conversant with the Atlantic Charter. It will be respected by all peoples who are fighting for liberty."

(See newspaper "FLAMBOURO", No. 2)

- c) The command of Eastern Thessaly on July 7, 1943, transmitted the following message of the Middle East Allied Command:

Document Number 36.

".....I wish to convey to all ranks of the guerilla army in Greece my sincere congratulations and thanks for the recent big Greek successes all over

Greece. Those operations of theirs, skillfully prepared by us and executed with great precision by you, contributed and were conducive to the successes of the Allied armies in Sicily. The Axis, having been misled, imagined an attack in the Balkans. Its reinforcements in men and airplanes, originally intended for Italy, were preoccupied in the Balkans. Their attention was turned to Greece and a big convoy passed into the Mediterranean without any trouble. I realize that the guerilla operations were not without danger and that the non-combatant population suffered a great deal. Please convey to them and to the population of Greece my appreciation for their devotion to their comrades in arms. The war is gradually drawing to its certain end. The end will be the unconditional surrender of the Axis..... I demand continuous confidence and absolute devotion to the military leaders of the Allied armies in the Mediterranean, one of which is the Guerilla Corps in Greece. Bravo to the guerillas."

d) Also on July 18, 1945, the Commander-in-Chief in the Middle East sent the following messages:

Document Number 37.

"General Wilson requests that all operations cease immediately. Thanks to the brilliant operations of the guerillas in Greece the attention of the Axis was diverted from large convoys and operational concentrations in the Mediterranean. Axis reinforcements were compelled and they are still compelled to move to the Balkans, thus allowing the operations in Sicily to proceed according to plan. The Commander-in-Chief expresses his sincere thanks to all Greeks. General Wilson now requests that all guerillas remain quiet and that they turn their energy to the selection of additional guerilla enlistments, reequipment and training for future developments, the dates of which are not yet known. The only exception to the above, regarding certain tasks requiring small independent operations, is included in special instructions to Brigadier Eddy."

e) In a message to the Greek people, October 10, 1944, General Wilson said to the Greek people:

Document Number 38.

"The Germans are withdrawing from Greece and the heroic Greek guerillas are by day and night harassing their retreat... The brave contribution of the Greek guerillas to the cause of Greece and of the Allies will never be forgotten."

f) This is what Foreign Minister Anthony Eden said in his greeting message to the Greek people:

Document Number 39.

"You have repulsed and defeated the invader. The glorious achievement of a small country in a dark hour deserves to take its place in your long and proud history."

VI

THE OTHER "GUERILLA" GROUPS

"When the ELAS began its first blows against the conqueror and when the

first little islands of Free Greece were being created, some other "guerilla" groups sprang up. All those groups, put together, did not number 10,000 men, during the liberation struggle. They are known under the names: EDES (Zervas) in Epirus, EKKA (Psarros) in Sterea Ellas, (Central part of Greece), PAO (Poulos) in Macedonia, EES (Kissa-Badjak - Kyr. Papadopoulos) in Macedonia, National groups of Greek guerillas (A. Fostirides - Tsaous Anton) in Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace, and other groups. How they were organized, by whom they were organized, by whom they were lavishly armed and financed, for what purpose they were formed, and finally, whether they contributed to the cause of the allied fight and the liberation of the country - all this will be the subject of another book.

However, since during the entire struggle and especially on the eve of the present conflict, ELAS was accused of having made an alliance and of having collaborated with the Bulgarian armies (this fact would trouble the Greek people, who suffered terribly from Bulgarian militarism and fascism), we feel that we must present some data showing where this accusation was fabricated:

- 1) The Headquarters of a high liaison officer of the Allied military mission attached to the ELAS' General Command conveyed the complaints of the Middle East Allied Command:

Document Number 40.

HEADQUARTERS OF THE LIAISON OFFICER
OF THE ALLIED MILITARY MISSION.

Attached to the ELAS G.C.
No. M. K. 65

September 30, 1944

To the ELAS' General Command

"In continuation of communication M.K. 64-30-1944, I have the honor to inform you that Unit 133 informs me that the General Command of ELAS and also the ELAS of Drama are violating the specific orders of the Allied Command and the present Greek Government, for they are not cooperating with Chieftains Groups in Eastern Macedonia for the maintenance of order and law.

"I have been authorized by Unit 133 to bring to your attention the following: The ELAS of Drama cooperates with Bulgarian bandits against British and American officers, as well as against guerillas who are recognized by the Allies and the Greet Government as a section of the Greek guerilla National Army. The chieftains' groups are the only regional force which fought well against the Germans. Detailed reports are sent daily to the Highest Allied Command. The leaders, and those from whom they are receiving their orders, are assuming personal responsibility, for the present detrimental condition as well as for the fact that British and American officers are substantially under detention in accordance with orders of EAM-ELAS and the Bulgarian partisans."

A. Edmond

- 2) The ELAS' General Command answered as follows:

Document Number 41.

E.L.A.S.
GENERAL COMMAND
No. E.P. 9719

To the Allied Military Mission.

"We have the honor to request that you kindly transmit the following telegram:

- a) Premier and War Minister Papandreou STOP
- b) Commander Unit 140 STOP;

"Beginning STOP Group of Macedonia Divisions reports STOP Rumor agreement EAM and Bulgarian Government utterly false and groundless STOP On the contrary Bulgarian Army remains in Strimona line STOP with excuse it has been ordered to do so by an ally STOP Please inform us whether this true STOP ALSO Bulgarian army attacking ELAS forces STOP Alleging this was demanded by Allied liaison officer Miller STOP Request your order cessation any attack on part of Bulgarians and Tsaous-Anton groups cooperating with them against sections of ELAS STOP General Sarafis STOP October 10, 1944 End"

Headquarters General Command, October 10, 1944
Respectfully
Stephano Sarafis
Costas Despotopoulos, Major General

- 3) Here is a document which tells us exactly who meant to fight side by side with the Bulgarian armies and who had mediated such an agreement:

Document Number 42.

SIPSA September 14, 1944 5 p.m.

To Mr. Theodore Micropoulos, Chief of the Vice Command in Bairam-Tepe.

"Today, through the mediation of Major Miller, we came in contact with a representative of the Bulgarian Military Commander of Drama, Negotiations with duly empowered Bulgarian officers will start nine o'clock tomorrow in Drama. We have set as the basis for negotiations, the following:

- "1) The keeping of order by the Bulgarian Military authorities until further decisions are reached in Drama;
- "2) The seizure by us of the villages around Drama so as to prohibit the entry of the Communists there;
- "3) The parade of a group of our guerillas in Drama, said group to leave the city after an address to enlighten the people.

"In view of the above, I beg that you avoid any collision with the Bulgarians of Nikiforou and vicinity. Similarly, we request that you keep your force concentrated on Zariez and ready to move at the first order."

The Commander
(TS) Signed An. Fostirides, (Tsaous-Anton)

- 4) We give below the text of the agreement between Tsaous-Anton, Commander of

the National Groups of Greek Guerillas and General Sirakof, Commander of the Second Corps of the Bulgarian Army.

Document Number 43.

Agreement

"On this, the 18th day of September 1944, the following agreement was concluded in Drama between the Commander of the Bulgarian Armies of Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace and the Commander of the Greek Nationalist Guerillas:

- "1) The Commander of the Second Corps of the Bulgarian Army assumes the obligation to remove all groups of Greek Guerillas which are now found in inhabited areas in Eastern Macedonia and Western Thrace where there are Bulgarian garrisons and in the future not to permit the entry of such groups into said areas. The above will be executed by the 20th of September, 1944, for the **cities** of Drama and Kavalla, and by the 22nd of September, for the other inhabited places.
- "2) The General Commander of the Nationalist Greek guerillas assumes the obligation not to allow the entry of his groups or of individuals into inhabited places where Bulgarian armies remain.
- "3) In the event that Bulgarian armies should enter an inhabited area where there are guerilla groups with the intention to remain, the Greek guerillas must withdraw from that inhabited region. If the Bulgarian armies happen to be simply passing through some village, the Greek guerillas will give them all possible assistance. On leaving the inhabited region, the Bulgarian armies must notify the local Greek authorities so that the guerillas may return speedily.
- "4) The two contracting parties undertake the obligation to cease hostilities, to maintain friendly relations and to give mutual assistance. The same contracting parties must insist that their soldiers and guerillas mutually avoid every provocation. In case of incidents, these will be settled by the Commander of the Bulgarian army and the Commander of the Greek Nationalist guerillas, when it is not possible to settle them in the localities by the local commanders of the Bulgarian armies and the Greek guerillas.
- "5) All roads and railroad lines must be free for the use of the population and the Bulgarian armies.
- "6) The Greek guerillas and the Greek population must conduct themselves impeccably toward the Bulgarian population and must avoid every act of force.
- "7) In the inhabited places where Bulgarian armies are stationed, the Bulgarian armies must give their assistance to the Greek political authorities established there.

"Both contracting parties express their full satisfaction over the agreement concluded and they give their assurance that they will do everything possible for its scrupulous observance:"

The General Commander of the

The Military Commander of the

National groups of Greek Guerillas
(T.S.) (Signed) A. Fostirides

2nd Corps of the Bulgarian Army
(Signature) Sirakof

5. We give below the order through which these "'guerilla" bodies were organized:

Document Number 44.

GENERAL COMMAND OF ORVILOU
Central Commander: Antonios Fostirides

ORDER

"As per instructions of the General of the Middle East Command.

"The guerilla bands are changed into a purely military class and their ranks are fixed as follows:

"1) General Commander, rank of general, Antonios Fostirides (Tsaous-Anton)

"2) Vice-Commanders, rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

1) Karavsiloglou, Anastasios, Lieutenant Colonel 2) Pehlivanides, Thomas, Lieutenant Colonel 3) Tsakirides, Theodore, Lieutenant Colonel, 4) Avramides, Anastasios, Lieutenant Colonel 5) Papadakis, Michael, Lieutenant Colonel 6) **Karatasios, Vangelis, Lieutenant Colonel.**

The group leaders are called platoon commanders and have the rank of second lieutenant.

- 1) Platoon Commander Constantine Courtides, second lieutenant;
- 2) Platoon Commander Anastasios Anastasiades, second lieutenant\
- 3) Platoon Commander Alexandros Papadopoulos, second lieutenant;
- 4) Platoon Commander George Kalpakes, second lieutenant;
- 5) Platoon Commander Haralambos Ch. Panayiotou, second lieutenant;
- 6) Platoon Commander Theologos Karapouyioucoglou, second lieutenant;
- 7) Platoon Commander Panayiotis Tsakalos, second lieutenant;
- 8) Platoon Commander Anastasios Topouzoglou, second lieutenant;
- 9) Platoon Commander Isaac Papadopoulos, second lieutenant;
- 10) Platoon Commander Ulysses Macrides, second lieutenant.

"The following, stationed at the headquarters of the Vice-Commander at Kara-Hero are given the rank of Major:

"1) John Avramides, 2) Kyriakos Lazarides

Tsal-Dag, April 15, 1944
The General
(Sign.) Antonios Fostirides (Tsaous-Anton)

6) And here is a sample of the collaboration between the various "guerilla" leaders:

Document Number 45:

Salonika, September 8, 1944

"Dear Fellow-countrymen:

"Great was our joy when we learned that the Pontian* element is also leading there in the fight for Country and Faith,

"We are proud of you, our dear brothers, and are united with you in spirit.

"Here, in the remaining part of Macedonia, we all are united under the flag of the Notional Greek Army, an organization which we, the genuine patriots of the countrywide have founded, our pioneer leaders and men being Greeks from Pontus who ore shedding their pure blood for the ideals of our race, This is honorable blood.

"The fight waged today, which was also waged in the Pontian and Albanian mountains by our men, must be recognized and in order to have it recognized, we must be united now and in the future,

"We are all, in reality, the children of EDES and with your assistance we hope to add very soon the D which is missing from our EES.

"Warm greeting to all the boys and especially to your Commander Lieutenant Colonel Mr. Sfessos Thomas. Farewell."

The General Commander of EES of Macedonia
(Sign.) Kissa-Badjak
(Kyr. Papadoupoulos)

The Vice-Commander of EES of Macedonia
(Sign.) Joannides Leonidas, Officer

7} Tsaous-Anton tells his aims in his communication to the Bulgarian Government.

Document Number 46.

"To the Bulgarian Government, Tsal-Dag Headquarters.

"I, the undersigned, Commander Antonios Fostirides, do hereby declare that I have not any intention of coming into conflict with your detachments which are in the vicinity, as our purpose is similar. My aim is to destroy here, in the vicinity, the adventurer-communists who are plundering the peasants, but should there be police reinforcements, I am disposed to attack you with various arms and with a force of (5) five thousand men."†

The Commander
(Sign.) Antonios Fostirides (Tsaous-Anton)

The papers numbered from 42 to 46 were found in the Headquarters of Tsaous-Anton and came into our possession after the dissolution of his forces.

* Editor's note: Greeks originating from the Black Sea littoral.

† NOTE OF EDITOR

In the last three lines of this communication of Tsaous-Anton there are confusing typographical errors in the Greek edition but it is clear in these lines that he is interested in destroying the communist "adventurers".

At this point, we must recall that on the eve of the clash, Mr. Tsaous-Anton was invited to Athens. He stayed as an "official" guest, just like Mr. Zervas, the Commander of the EDES, at the sumptuous hotel "Grand Bretagne" and, again like Mr. Zervas, he became the object of the admiration and jubilation of the entire Reaction and its newspaper organs.

VII

GENERAL SCOBIE INTERVENES

At this point, and while the Government crisis threatened to break out, General Scobie called the representatives of the ELAS and asked them to sign immediately the dissolution of the guerilla corps. The ELAS spokesman, General Sarafis, answered as follows:

Document Number 47.

".....Whole sections of insular Greece, and specifically, Crete, are still groaning under the Hitlerites' yoke. Eight thousand Germans in Crete are carrying out raids against the villages, which are being liberated, and are committing atrocities against the Cretan people. Simultaneously other German forces in the Dodecanese are committing monstrous crimes against the Greek population."

In continuing, General Sarafis remarked that ELAS is a national army, that it functions under the immediate orders of the Greek Government and is subject to the immediate orders of the Greek Government. Consequently, he emphasized to Mr. Scobie, that, according to the existing Greek military regulations, in order for him (General Sarafis) to sign the demobilization order of ELAS, it would be necessary that an appropriate order first be issued by the Greek Government. Under these conditions and only if the order were issued by the Greek Government, General Sarafis added, would it be possible to consider the matter of signing for the demobilization requested by General Scobie.

Inasmuch as no decree was issued by the Greek Government, General Sarafis refused to sign the order, which at any rate, would have to be signed at the headquarters of the General Command,

(See newspaper "ELEFThERIA", No. 66)

VIII

GENERAL SCOBIE ORDERS THE DEMOBILIZATION OF ELAS

Churchill Approves

In continuation, General Scobie circulated on December 1, a general order dated November 1944 (day not mentioned). In it, although the military question had not been solved by the Greek Government, which alone could settle it as the government authority, he ordered the dissolution of the guerilla forces. His order read as follows:

Document Number 48.

".....To all officers and men of the Greek Resistance.

"The time has come, after the termination of your heroic and successful fight against the German conqueror, when the National Guard, which is now being formed, is to undertake the responsibility of maintaining law and order all over Greece, and you are to return to your hearthsides.

"I am counting on you for the execution of the Greek Government's instructions in an orderly fashion and in a spirit of full and cordial cooperation as becomes soldiers. Then you will be free to return honored to your hearths, conscious, that you have faithfully done your duty.

"I am convinced that all of you, who have suffered so many hardships and fought so long and so bravely for the liberation of your land, will perform these last duties without any hesitation or delay. In doing so, you will be strengthened and encouraged by the knowledge that you will hasten the moment when Greece will reap the fruits of victory and when she will enjoy the peace and the happiness which she has so nobly won by her heroism and the many tribulations which you and the entire Greek people have suffered."

Ronald Scobie
Commanding General of the
Allied Land Forces in Greece

On the same day General Scobie issued the following message to the Greek people:

Document Number 49.

"The British Armies come to your land for three purposes:

First: To help you to drive out the conqueror.

Second: To bring you food and other material.

Third: To help you restore your land to prosperity and to its former grandeur.

"You will 'be the first to appreciate that whether we succeed or we fail in our endeavor, these efforts are offered in a spirit of true friendship and respect for a bravo ally, and this at a time when we are continuing a violent struggle against a powerful enemy.

"The first purpose has been almost achieved. The enemy has been driven out from continental Greece.

"The second purpose is being carried out with every possible means. Despite the fact that the sea is full of mines and that the ports are damaged and communications destroyed, great progress has been made in the six weeks after the first landing.

"The success of the third purpose depends on the establishment of the Greek Government's authority throughout the entire land and the restoration of confidence on the part of the people. I am determined to achieve, as far as I can, the realization of the aims, which have been assigned to me by my Government.

"I am an enemy of terrorism, of force and of tumult, regardless of their source. I am convinced of the friendly sentiments toward us of the great majority of Greeks.

"I am also convinced that there is no freedom of speech or of the press in many parts of this land, but that terrorism and deceit still prevail. All this impedes the just distribution of food and relief supplied by the Allied Governments. It is for this reason that I am sending you this message so as to convey to you the assurance of my sympathy and *my* support. I am depending on the assistance of all Greek men and women who are really and honestly interested in their country.

"I stand firmly by the present constitutional Government until the Greek Government shall be established with a lawful armed force at its command and until it shall be possible to hold free elections. If all of us together fail to achieve this, the currency will not be maintained on a stable basis and the people will not be fed. I will protect you and your Government against any attempt at a coup-d'etat regardless of its source, or against other violent and unconstitutional acts.

"Rest assured that Great Britain, an island people, entertains a deep love for Greece, its old ally, and that it will protect her.

"I will help you to protect your present frontiers until the time when your national forces are in a position to undertake this. I want you to believe me that the sentiments of my country are sincere. We only wish to see you again a free, happy and prosperous country, where you will be living peacefully among yourselves and with your neighbors."

Finally, the following statement was made at 10 Downing Street, on December 4.

Document Number 50.

"The Prime Minister wishes it to be known that General Scobie's message of December 1 to the Greek people, stressing the necessity for unity and demonstrating our full support for the present Greek Government, was made with the full knowledge and the full consent of His Majesty's Government."

(See official information bulletin of the Undersecretary of Press and Information issued on December 5, 1944.)

IX

THE MINISTERS OF THE LEFT RESIGN

After General Scobie's open intervention, the Ministers of the Left submitted their resignation and made the following statements:

a) Statement of Svolos:

Document Number 51.

"Mr. President,

"As is known, I have exerted every effort to find solutions which would give indispensable security to all and which would also support the Government of National Unity. I have not succeeded. Mutual distrust continues and this is vital. Today, I have no other alternative but to ask you to

accept my resignation. I have always believed in the absolute necessity of full national unity and I trust that it may be again achieved for the sake of our people and the tranquility of political life."

With great esteem
A. Svolos

b) Statement of Tsirimokos:

Document Number 52.

"Our resignation was indispensable for the clarification of the situation which reached an impasse through the failure of all efforts to achieve a solution of the military question which would satisfy popular demands. The fervent desire and wish of all is that the clearing of the atmosphere and the crisis provoked by it may lead to solutions which will avert the danger of an armed break and will really insure normalcy."

c) Statement of Zevgos (Minister of the Left)

Document Number 53.

"I heard General Scobie's message. I believe that such actions, so frequently resorted to by Mr. Scobie, do not contribute to the normalcy of our political life. A few days ago, he called me and our fellow-fighter Svolos, the Minister of Finance, to his office, and there, in the presence of the British Ambassador, asked us, in ultimatum fashion, to submit to him within 24 hours a responsible statement that we do not approve acts of violence.

"It is needless to tell you, that as Ministers of an independent nation's government, we refused to enter any such discussion. Other activities which ended in the resignation of assistant Minister Mr. Lambrinides showed Mr. Scobie as seeking a one-sided composition of the national guard which is to be staffed with non-democratic elements. The day before yesterday, we were told that the Mountain Brigade, which was transferred to Athens from the war front, is not being dissolved, because Mr. Scobie insists on this and has sent a telegram to that effect. Today in his order of the day, he is asking a one-sided demobilization. All those actions, which are contrary to the principles of the allied cause and which surely are not approved by our ally, the Government of Great Britain, help create the present-day political impasse facing our country, with the tragic consequences which are visible in the background. The circles of the Right which provoke and strengthen, or even tolerate these actions are doing the worst service to our country. I believe that the highest debt owed to our nation and to our people, who made such a contribution to the allied cause, compels us to defend the right solution of the burning military problem. And this solution calls for the demobilization of all armed forces of ELAS, EDES, of the Mountain Brigade, the Sacred Battalion and the army formations in Egypt and for the creation of a real National Guard which will be at the service of the nation and not of the reactionary Right. The Greek people have before them all the facts and are in a position to judge for themselves as to who defends their peace and the normal development of their political life."

(For the above statements see the newspapers "MAHI" No. 76 - and "ELEFThERI ELLADA" No. 74.)

X

THE VIEWS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF E.A.M.

Finally, the Central Committee of the EAM took the following decision at its meeting of December 1:

Document Number 54.

"The EAM Central Committee, always adhering to the national and democratic policy of the E.A.M., is fighting today, too, for the preservation of the Government of National Unity on the assumption that it will put into immediate application its declared program and that it will lead the country in safeguarding popular liberties through a speedy plebiscite and free elections for the Constituent Assembly. But, it is seen that not only pressing political matters are not solved, but reaction with its dark activities, is complicating them and goes on to violent political solutions. It is for this that the Central Committee of the EAM openly declares to the Greek people its position on the political problems at issue:

- 1). On the military question. From the very beginning, the EAM agreed unreservedly to demobilize the ELAS, on the condition, however, that the other armed volunteer forces, EDES, the Mountain Brigade, the Sacred Battalion and the army formations in the Middle East be dissolved also. In view of the objections raised by our adversaries and in order to facilitate an agreement; this Committee consented to discuss the matter of the creation of a mixed national corps which would comprise all armed forces. The difficulties which arose in the discussion for the realization of such a solution and which are due to the attempt of the reaction to preserve intact its armed forces so as to serve its anti-popular aims, lead the Central Committee of the EAM to assert once more that the only solution which serves the peace of the people and the cause of normalcy is the total demobilization of all armed forces of ELAS, EDES, of the Mountain Brigade, the Sacred Battalion and the formations of the Middle East.
2. The enforcement of the Government's decision on the purging of the police and the retiring of the Gendarmerie from service. The purging, by December 10, at least of the high police cadres and the disarming of gendarmes and sending them home, until both are cleared by the military councils.
3. The immediate purging of the State's agencies of all fifth-columnists and collaborators with the conquerors.
4. The immediate **enforcement of** the law regarding punishments. The fact that the trials of the traitors, who openly conspire in Athens and the provinces, have not begun as yet, constitutes a major confirmation **of** the fact that the reaction is plotting against the people's liberties. It **is a** matter of national honor and of moral orders of peace and of the security of the people, that those trials begin even before December 10, and that court verdicts be issued for a **few** dozen, at least, of the leaders of national treason.

"The C.C. of the EAM expressing the people's wishes and interested in their peace and liberties, demands the enforcement of the above which

constitute an elementary guarantee for the smooth development of the situation. The reaction denied these popular demands, because it is preparing a coup-d'etat, civil war, dictatorship and a new 4th of August with the Glucksburg* dynasty.

"The C.C. of the EAM calls all democrats, all those who are concerned *over* the peace and progress of the country, the entire Greek people, who offered so many sacrifices and so much blood for their liberty, to thwart these dark plans of the forces of reaction. The people must stand united in order to guarantee the solution proposed by the C.C. of the EAM and so that we may secure peace, the liberties of the people, and the unhampered development of the land."

* Editor's Note: The Danish name of King George.

CHAPTER IV

The Conflict

I

Dictatorship is coming

1) On the same day (December 1, 1944) when General Scobie issued his order for the demobilization of the guerilla forces, the following events took place:

a) Premier Papandreou declared that the simultaneous demobilization of all guerilla corps was unacceptable and that he rejected, even the creation of a "mixed corps." b) The Minister of Justice, Mr. Abraham, arbitrarily abolished the People's Justice* through his order 58,422. c) The forces of the Mountain Brigade started skirmishes on the hills of Hymettus between the Zographou and Kessariani neighborhoods. d) The leader of the EDES, Zervas, left hurriedly for Epirus where his forces were stationed.

2) The C.C. of the EAM confronted the aggressive mobilization of the right by making public the following decision on December 2.

Document Number 55.

a) To appeal to the Governments of our Allies, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States.

b) To hold on all-people's meeting at Constitution Square on December 3, 1944, at 11 A.M, where the spokesmen of the parties of the EAM will address the people.

c) To organize and declare a general strike on Monday, December 4.

d) To re-establish the Central Committee of the ELAS.

3) For the execution of the above decision, the Central Committee of the EAM sent the following appeal to the Allied Governments:

Document Number 56.

a) "The Central Committee of the National Liberation Movement, which includes in its ranks the large majority of the Greek people, has the honor to address to the Governments of the great Allies, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States of America, the following appeal:

"The Greek people received with amazement and bitterness the order of General Scobie, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Forces in Greece, concerning the dissolution of the guerilla groups, and his message to the Greek people. Appreciating deeply the valuable contribution of the British armies for the liberation of our country, and preserving a vivid memory of common struggles

* (Editor's Note: the judicial system and courts established by the EAM in Free Greece.)

and sacrifices, at the time the invaders flooded our country, the Greek people received with fraternal sentiments the British armies that came back to Greece after the barbarous conqueror had been driven out.

"However, the unexpected intervention of the British General in a matter which comes exclusively under the jurisdiction of the Greek Government - the government of an Allied country, and its responsible members - would have destroyed the prestige of Great Britain in Greece, were it not for the ties which unite the Greek and the British peoples, ties which have been tested in the past and which were strengthened recently in the course of the common fight.

"In this common fight, the Greek people believe that they have the right to be proud because they offered unreservedly their wholehearted contribution, at the time the waves of fascistic and nazi invasions were flooding Europe and when Great Britain was fighting back against them with determined resistance. The Greek people did not hesitate to do their duty, true to themselves and to their history, and in keeping with the ideals of the great cause of the United Nations *for* the preservation of liberty and democratic ideals. Alone and unassisted, the Greek people began to organize their resistance as soon as the invaders trampled on the soil of their country. Thanks to that resistance not even one Greek has been sent by the invaders to any front, A national army, ELAS, was built under the organizational guidance of the EAM. This army was principally armed with the trophies of its struggles and sacrifices; it liberated a big part of our country and had the satisfaction of seeing the Allies recognize its positive contribution to the happy outcome of the Allied operations in the Mediterranean.

"This army preserved order after the final ousting of the enemy and offered and is still offering - as the interpreter of the wishes of the Greek people of which it is the offspring - to continue its struggles for the liberation of the Greek Islands, held as yet by the Germans, and to participate in the allied struggle, which is being continued beyond the Greek frontiers. It is the dissolution of this army, skilled and tested in war, which constitutes a guarantee for order and normalcy, that is being asked, without even a guarantee that its demobilization will not be utilized for the unrestrained imposition of high-handed solutions which are contrary to the sovereign will of the people. These solutions are Sought and concocted by fifth-columnist circles, by war criminals who as yet go about unpunished, and by old supporters of the Royal dictatorship of August 4.

"The EAM representatives in the Government of National Unity tried to prevent these solutions by seeking the formation of a unified Greek Army and the dissolution of all volunteer armed Greek forces without any exception; they are convinced that only thus is it possible to achieve a lasting and undisturbed political tranquility which is so very essential for the heavy and difficult task of national rehabilitation and reconstruction. The unexpected intervention of General Scobie, British Commander-in-Chief of the allied forces in Greece, at a crucial moment of the intra-governmental discussions, deeply wounds the feelings of the Greek people; and they are especially wounded by the tying up of a political question with the question of Allied aid in feeding the Greek people and stabilizing their national currency. It also engenders the danger of civil strife, as it is obvious that those who, through their persistent slander against our guerillas' liberation movement, have helped bring about this intervention, will exploit it for

their anti-popular aims.

"Expressing the firm conviction of the Greek people that it is impossible that such intervention constitute the will of Great Britain, the Central Committee of the EAM believes that the British Government, as well as the governments of the Soviet Union and of the United States of America, who signed the Atlantic Charter and the decisions at Teheran, will recognize the right of the Greek people to decide for themselves their internal affairs, in accordance with the expressed assurances of the British war chiefs."

Athens, December 2, 1944.

- b) Also, the Central Committee of the EAM called an all people's and nationwide strike. The strike had a sensational 100% success.
- c) It also called the peaceful mobilization of the Athens-Piraeus people for a protest meeting on Sunday, December 3; although no permit was necessary for this mass-meeting since it was assumed that democratic institutions were in force, yet out of excessive regard for the law an application was filed for a permit, which was granted.

II

MURDER

- 4) At eleven o'clock in the morning of Sunday, December 3, hundreds of thousands of unarmed people expressed their will. In front of the monument to the Unknown Soldier, at Constitution Square, they were murderously fired upon by the gendarmes and the other fascistic groups, which had fortified themselves under the protection of the British tanks at the Old Palace. Twenty-four died and hundreds were wounded by the murderous bullets. This is how the correspondent of the "Chicago Sun" described the massacre:

Document Number 57.

".....It was a peaceful and absolutely unarmed protest of the people. In fact women brought along even their little children. I saw with my own eyes the events as they occurred under my window... The heroism of these people was incredible. While the police were firing upon the unarmed demonstrators, the mass of the crowd continued to march on erectly. Women and girls with a smile on their lips shouted even after their comrades were killed 'Long Live Churchill! Long Live Roosevelt! Down with Papandreou! No King!'"

- 5) On the following day, Monday, December 4, hundreds of thousands of people attended the funeral of the victims. As the unarmed people were returning from the funeral, a new murderous attack was opened against them by the gendarmes, the men of the Security Battalions, the followers of EDES and of the monarcho-fascists of the "X" organization. All of them were armed with automatic rifles. The result of this new murderous attack was additional hundreds of dead and wounded.
- 6) Concerning this slaughter, the C.C. of the EAM sent the following appeal to governments of the major powers including the French Republic.

Document Number 58.

"In our appeal of December 2, expressing the amazement of the Greek people at the actions of General Scobie, Commander of the Allied Forces in Greece, we gave warning of the dangers inherent in them. Unfortunately, we were not proved wrong. The Papandreou Government bathed in blood the unarmed people of Athens, while they were peacefully expressing their sovereign will at last Sunday's mass-meeting. For this crime, it used not only the Police, but, also, all those who criminally slaughtered the people during the occupation of the barbarous leaders - the men of the Security Battalions, of the Gendarmerie, and of the various traitorous organizations. Yesterday, when the Athenian people held the funeral of the victims of the governmental murder, the same tools, the sole backers of the Papandreou Government, again bathed them in blood. This time, too, they fired from ambush upon the people who were returning from the funeral. The Government of the murderer resigned under the curses and the anathema of the people. And now the Greek people learn with astonishment and with the deepest distress that Great Britain, our great ally, backs up this moral and political rag so that he can remain as the leader of the blood-stained Government. Today, the C.C. of the EAM again considers it its duty to address to you a last appeal. The insistence upon maintaining Papandreou in office forces the situation into an impasse. By encouraging this murderous action, it brings us to the abyss of civil war. After this murderous attack, Mr. Papandreou is an outlaw as far as the people are concerned. Moreover, this insistence leads to a flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of the country and is in radical opposition to the declarations of the leaders of all the allied powers and to the Atlantic Charter and the Teheran agreement,

"The entire Greek people, who shed their blood prodigally by the side of the allies and all the united nations for the ideals of liberty, of independence, and of democracy, demands to remain free and independent in the settling of their internal questions.

"We are sure that all the freedom loving people will stand by the Greek people in this holy struggle which they are determined to carry on."

III

MARTIAL LAW IS DECLARED

7) General Scobie declares martial law.

Document Number 59.

"On December 1, 1944, I addressed to you a message asking your assistance in the fulfillment of my task and defining clearly my attitude regarding terrorism, violence and tumult.

"I confidently expected that my appeal would receive the wholehearted support of all free thinking Greeks.

"I am sorry that this did not happen.

"A few minority elements clearly expressed the intention to sacrifice the broader interests of Greece and to provoke, if possible, internal strife.

"In view of this, the Greek Government was compelled to put into effect in Athens and Piraeus the existing martial law in accordance with the Greek

constitution.

"I repeat that together with the great majority of the Greek people, I stand firmly by the side of the constitutional Government, which I will help with all the means in my power and until the Greek state can be established with a legal armed force at its command, when the holding of free elections will be made possible."

We must remark: a) Only through a decree of the Greek government and not through the order of a foreign general can martial law be enforced. b) There was no Greek Government. For its legal support, the Government had the agreement of the entire political world at Lebanon. However, after the Ministers of the Left were compelled to retire from the Government, the majority of the Greek people, represented by the Ministers of the Left, ceased to support the Government both in form and substance. c) At any rate, in order to declare martial law, the necessary order must be published in the Government Gazette, Instead of waiting for the decree, even of the Papandreou pseudo-government, General Scobie had the order in question printed in Cairo and his soldiers posted it in the streets of Athens. General Scobie then sent the following message to the General Staff of ELAS:

Document Number 60.

From the Third Corps
041110B

To the staff of the First Corps of ELAS. Copies to: Headquarters 4th Indian Division - 23rd Armored Brigade - 5th Infantry Brigade - 2nd Infantry Brigade - 1st District - 2nd district, - 3rd district - 4th district - 5th area XBLUSP, Third Corps Liberty Middle East GS (3) QMCMOMUTUG or R Liaisons' wing AKTY CNRSCSO ASPR.

S.O. 946 Secret to the ELAS General Staff.

"This order is issued following a request of the Greek Government. Due to disobedient conduct during the disarming of units of the National Guard and to disregard of my orders prohibiting ELAS from entering the district of Athens-Piraeus, I am ordering all units of ELAS and of the National Citizen's Guard (E.P.) to abandon the district which is included in the area from Eleusis-Aspropyrgo-Liossia-Kifissia-the Marathon Dam-Palini-Coropi-Prasonisi within 72 hours after midnight of the- 3rd to the 4th of December. This means that no unit of ELAS or of National Citizen's Guard will be in this district after midnight **of** the 6th to the 7th of December. After this hour, units of ELAS and of N.C.G. found in said district, will be considered enemies. The **removal** of units outside this district to the countryside will be communicated to this staff. Any movement is prohibited during the night. Units of ELAS outside this district will remain where they are; any movement toward this district will be considered a hostile act. Attempts are being made at present to disarm the gendarmerie in the district of Athens and Piraeus. From now on, these attempts will cease. Beginning December 4 at 4 P.M. such attempts will be considered as hostile acts and will be dealt with accordingly. Units of ELAS which already occupy police quarters will be ordered to retire; otherwise they will be forcibly driven out."

EM OP Mort-Lake
General Staff, 1st Corps ELAS

IV

PROTEST OF THE ELAS' CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Central Committee of the ELAS on December 5, 1944, sent its answer which reads as follows:

DOCUMENT NUMBER 61.

C.C. of ELAS
Number of Ans. 21

Via 1st Army Corps

To
The Command of the 3rd British Army Corps

"In answer to your message No. 041110B, we have the honor to inform you of the following:

"The political crisis of today and the resignation of our ministers is due to violation on the part of Mr. Papandreou of the Lebanon agreement which provided for the liberation of our land from the foreign invader and the safeguarding of the people's sovereignty.

"The Lebanon agreement and the programmatic declarations of Mr. Papandreou were violated by the failure to punish traitors and collaborationists, by the continuation of the entire machinery of the Quisling state and the maintenance of a large part of those armed forces which were organized and armed by the conqueror against the Greek people and the allied cause. An obvious proof of the violation of the Lebanon agreement by the Papandreou government is the fact that by proclaiming martial law it turned into a dictatorial government. Such a dictatorial government represents the smallest part of the Greek people and especially that part which collaborated politically and militarily with the German invaders.

"In view of these facts, we believe that Your Excellency should not take into consideration the request of such a Government and should not issue the order in question, for in this manner you are siding with a small minority of Greeks and especially with that minority which collaborated with the Germans against the allied cause, opposing the great majority of the Greek people who struggled and fought by the side of the allies.

"Besides, we believe you understand that such a position is contrary to the proclamations of the Atlantic Charter and contrary to the agreement of Teheran and to the agreement of Caserta. It constitutes direct intervention in our internal affairs, an action which is contrary to the basic principles of the allied cause. We take this opportunity to emphasize that your intervention cost the lives of many hundreds of dead and wounded during the all people's demonstration on the 3rd and 4th of this month.

"We are protesting against all this to you and to the allied governments which you represent in our country.

"We cherish the hope that you will not want to enforce this order and that

you will remain neutral in the fight waged by the Greek people for the safeguarding of their liberties - especially since the forces against which you are taking your stand are the forces which fought by your side, which preserved order until your arrival in Greece, and which have always sought peaceful solutions."

The C.C. of ELAS

V

OPEN ATTACK OF THE BRITISH FORCES

The war on the part of the British forces had openly begun and on December 6, the C.C. of the ELAS sent the following protest:

Document Number 62.

The C.C. of ELAS

General Staff - No. 65

To Lieutenant General Scobie, Commander
of the 2nd British Army Corps

Via the 1st Army Corps

"Yesterday afternoon, outside of Thebes, a small column of ELAS was fired upon by British airplanes, resulting in two dead and wounded.

"For such a hostile attack of allied airplanes against the Greek army, which is fighting by the side of the Allies, you bear a heavy responsibility, not only toward the honest Greek people, who deserve a better fate at the hands of the allied British forces, but also toward the entire allied world and international public opinion.

"Your contention that you are protecting the Government and public order constitutes an admission that you are defending a fascistic dictatorship of that very small fraction of Greeks who reacted against the national liberation struggle and who openly collaborated with the conquerors against their country and the allied cause.

"Once more we are protesting and appealing to you to stop your intervention in our internal affairs."

December 6, 1944.

The Central Committee of ELAS
General E. Mantakas
General Mr. Hadjimihales
George Siantos

VI

ELAS ATTEMPTS TO PREVENT THE
SPREADING OF THE CONFLICT

Finally on December 9, 1944, the Central Committee of ELAS tried once more

to prevent the spreading of the war.

Document Number 63.

File No. 131

To His Excellency, Lieutenant Colonel Scobie,
Commander of the British forces in Greece.

"We have the honor of bringing to your attention the following:

"Despite our protests, conveyed in our communications, Reply 21, December 5, 1944 and Reply 65, December 6, 1944 in which we emphasized that the British allied forces have no place in solving the internal problems of the Greek people, and especially, by siding with that faction which collaborated openly and fought side by side with the fascist invader, on the seventh morning of this month, British tanks, artillery and airplanes attacked with all their power the ELAS forces in the city of Athens. But, as if this were not sufficient, your airplanes carried on a total bombing and machine-gunning from low levels against the non-combatant population in the city blocks of Athens, resulting in the murder of hundreds of innocent victims, many of whom were women, children and old men. The people of Athena suffered **no** such cowardly attack even in the darkest days of their enslavement under the heel of the most barbarous fascist invader. The latter, during the time of the invasion as well as of the occupation, showed respect for the historic city of Athens which, at the time of his withdrawal, he declared an open city. The hostage-taking and the shootings of the Germans are pale in contrast to the new methods with which you, the great British allies, attempt to suppress the desire of a people to enjoy their liberty and independence, to which they are more entitled than any other people since they won them with their blood and sacrifices in their four year fight by your side against fascism. Following the unjust attack which you started with all your power, we are compelled, by the elementary right of self-defense, to order and to enforce throughout Greece, military measures dictated by the military situation provoked by you. Thus, we have forbidden, by order, the shifting of any of your fighting forces in the country, and we will meet with force of arms any landing of your forces in the period until our political situation clears up.

"It is easily understood that the above applies only in the case of combat sections and not in the case of the British and other agencies whose task is to get supplies to the Greek people and to further reconstruction work.

"We consider it our obligation to assure you that as long as your forces in the capital as well as those in the interior do not move from their encampments during the above stated period of time, they face no danger of any kind.

"On the contrary, we are willing to afford every facility of sojourn and food supply.

"General:

"We are again making a last appeal that you stop your armed intervention in internal Greek affairs, so that there will be an end to the shedding of Greek and British blood - a bloodshed which will open an unbridgeable gulf between

two friendly and allied peoples for a long time. Only in this way is it yet possible for you to render valuable services to your country as well as to the Greek people."

December 9, 1944

The Central Committee of ELAS
Mantakas, Hadjimihalis, Siantos

VII

MR. CHURCHILL FORBIDS THE RESIGNATION OF MR. PAPANDREOU

8. The Papandreou Government, drowned in the meantime in the blood of the Greek people, submitted its resignation. Mr. Papandreou asked Mr. Sofoulis, leader of the Liberals, to form a Government. On the fifth of December, Mr. Sofoulis made the following statement, which was sent out by the Reuter Agency.

Document Number 64.

On the evening of December 5th, Mr. Sofoulis declared:

"On the 4th of December, I was asked by Mr. Papandreou to form a new Government, The left wing and the other parties consented to this, i.e., that I head the Government. I agreed as I saw in this step a good solution for the problems which had arisen. On December 5th, the British Ambassador informed me that according to the latest instructions he had received, the British Premier was not in accord with any changes in the person of the President of the Government in the present situation. General Scobie requested that I support Mr. Papandreou and I told him that if I consented to support the Papandreou Government this would mean that I would be supporting the dictatorship, a thing which I cannot do."

CHAPTER V

33 Days Of War

We present below a series of the most important documents exchanged between the British forces and the Central Committees of EAM-ELAS during the days of the war.

I

APPEALS TO THE ALLIES TO STOP THE WAR OF THE BRITISH FORCES

- 1) The Central Committee of the EAM on December 6th, addressed the following appeal to the Ambassadors of the allied countries:

Document Number 65.

NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT
CENTRAL COMMITTEE
File Number 7662.

Athens, December 6, 1944

"To His Excellency, the Ambassador of.....

"Your Excellency:

"We have the honor to submit to you the following report pertaining to the situation created in our country and we beg you to be so good as to convey it to your Government.

"Throughout the life of his Government, Mr. Papandreou, the President of the Government of National Unity, by violating the Lebanon Agreement and systematically organizing civil war, not only obstructed the purging of the state machinery but also strengthened the fascist elements which during the occupation collaborated with the Germans, enemies of the allies. Not even one trial of collaborationists took place nor was even one war criminal punished. Those who were arrested could escape whenever they liked, and the Security Battalions, which were armed by the Germans and were denounced as treacherous by the government of Mr. Papandreou itself, had arms in the buildings where they were held. Furthermore, despite the left wing's proposals for demobilization of all volunteer forces, the Papandreou Government sought to disarm the resistance forces and to preserve the Mountain Brigade and the Sacred Battalion, as their composition consisted of reactionary forces and monarcho-fascist officers. Moreover, it sought to organize a National Guard of 1936 conscripts with reactionary officers.

"By all these means, the reactionary Right sought to insure the possibility of imposing a violent monarcho-fascist dictatorship. Unfortunately, in this policy of his, Mr. Papandreou received the active support of Mr. Leeper, Ambassador of Great Britain, and of Mr. Scobie, the Commander of the Allied Forces.

"In accordance with the Caserta agreement, General Scobie has not the right to intervene in the internal affairs of Greece, his duties being

confined to the assistance of the Greek people for their liberation from the invaders. Yet, by violating this agreement, Mr. Scobie acts as if it is a matter of a conquered and not an allied, free and independent state. His entire activity constitutes a series of provocative and humiliating interventions at the expense of the national dignity and rights of the people. He summoned Ministers Svolos and Zevgos and in the presence of his Excellency, Mr. Leeper, asked them to make responsible statements on matters which are the concern solely of the Greek Government. He intervened in the matter of organizing the National Guard, whose duty is to preserve order, and he attempted to staff it with reactionary and even with collaborationist officers.

"He issued an order for the demobilization of the resistance forces, invoking a non-existent Government order. While the Government and its President, Mr. Papandreou, were deciding on the disarming and transporting of the gendarmes to the provinces, Mr. Scobie was gathering not only the gendarmes of the provinces but also all the collaborationists of Athens and he was arming them. This open intervention on Mr. Scobie's part strengthened Mr. Papandreou in his policy of suppressing popular liberties; and thus, collaborationist police officers and other collaborators of the Germans fired from buildings of the police and Military Command and from the Old Palace where the Under-Secretary of the Political Bureau of the Premier had his headquarters, upon the unarmed population peacefully demonstrating in Constitution Square on December 3rd.

"They killed and wounded over two hundred citizens. On the following day, they killed and wounded over one hundred more citizens, who were returning from the funeral of the victims. In the face of this mass terroristic slaughter, the people of Athens were compelled to undertake on their own, the protection of their lives from the bands of collaborationist police officers, security battalions, gendarmes, and other gangs which were armed and had collaborated with the Germans. In nearly all precincts in Athens the police surrendered their arms to the people. In fighting the police of Athens and Piraeus, the people together with the sections of the ELAS army, disarmed the gangs of collaborationists that were let loose by the government of Mr. Papandreou. Unfortunately, Mr. Scobie intervened openly with British tanks to protect the gendarmes. Simultaneously he declared martial law without a government decision, and served an ultimatum on ELAS to withdraw from the Attica limits - which would leave the people of Athens at the mercy of the fascist collaborationists.

"Your Excellency,

"The Greek people who fought by the side of the United Nations, and who suffered ruin in offering everything to the common cause for freedom, believe that they have the right to see the principles of the great war applied in their country end to enjoy the blessings of free and independent self-determination.

"Determined to get rid of fascist gangs, armed with the conviction of being in the right, and in self-defense, they will continue protecting their lives and liberty and they will keep on dying for these great blessings.

"We beseech the allied governments to act for the immediate termination of General Scobie's intervention in our internal affairs.

"We ask for the appointment of an inter-allied Commission, composed of

representatives of the allied countries, Great Britain, the United States of America, the Soviet Union and France, to investigate the situation which has been created, to determine the causes which brought it about, and to inform the allied governments, so as to avoid definitely in the future any intervention of a similar nature.

"Today, when the blood of Greeks is being shed so abundantly in the streets of Athens for the defense of life and democratic liberties, we cherish the conviction that the British forces, whose purpose is to crush fascism and to defend the independence of peoples, will not be used against the Greek people too, who are the champions of anti-fascist struggle in the Mediterranean."

For the Central Committee of EAM

D. Partsalides,
Secretary

The same Committee on December 7th sent the following appeal to the Ambassadors of the Allied Countries:

Document Number 66.

NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT
File No. 7655

CENTRAL COMMITTEE
Athens, December 7, 1944

"Appeal to the Ambassadors of England, of the Soviet Union, of the United States of America and France.

"To the International Red Cross

"In continuation of our appeal of yesterday, in which we brought to your attention the undisguised intervention of General Scobie in the internal affairs of Greece, which fought in the front lines of the anti-fascist struggle, we now denounce the following:

"1) All the inhuman tormentors of the Greek people, who had openly collaborated with the invaders during the German occupation, had gathered at the Special Security Building (Third of September and Derigny Streets). Among them also were gendarmes of the Special Security Bureau from Crete, who are notorious in that martyred island for their orgies and atrocities.

"Just as they were about to be disarmed by the struggling people of Athens, yesterday morning, English soldiers in tanks interceded, and took them out of the hands of the people, supposedly in order to protect them.

"A similar incident also took place at Piraeus. Last Monday, English soldiers transferred a group of armed policemen and gendarmes to the Vati Mansion - where they themselves are staying - with the same excuse, namely, their protection. Yesterday they turned them loose against the peoples of Piraeus. When the people tried to drive them away, the English soldiers took them under their protection obviously to use them against the people again.

"2) Men of the Rhallis Security Battalions and of the "X" fascistic organization, who, naturally, will be used against the Greek people, are armed with the help of the English at the Cadets Academy.

- "3) Since yesterday, December 6, English airplanes have been openly machine-gunning the Greek people, who after the murderous blow inflicted upon them by the organized forces of fascists and war criminals, are now fighting to protect their life, their liberties and the people's sovereignty *from* those very same hordes used by the Germans against them. At Kaissarini, there are many victims of these airplane strafing.
- "4) English tanks openly support the operations at Kaissarini of the Mountain Brigade, the Gendarmes, and the assassins of the Quisling Rhallis Battalions who were purposely released for this from prison at Camp Goudi where they were confined after the liberation of Athens. Also, English tanks are rumbling through the streets of Athens machine-gunning unprotected citizens, while colonial soldiers are landing at Piraeus to impose on the proud Greek people, by fire and iron the blood stained Government of Papandreou. These are a few of the innumerable instances in the war against the Greek people launched by the British Armed forces with the Gendarmes and Security Battalions at their side. In denouncing these flagrant violations of the inter-allied decisions and agreements at Teheran and Caserta and the strangling of every conception of right and liberty, we ask that you intervene immediately so that the British Armies' fight against the struggling people may cease; so that the English soldiers shall stop protecting the gangs of collaborationists and that they shall retire to the barracks, because the Greek people are determined to defend with every resource their life and liberties against any danger.

"For the EAM Central Committee"

D. PARTSALIDES
Secretary

II

PROCLAMATION OF THE ELAS CENTRAL COMMITTEE
TO THE PEOPLE OF ATHENS AND PIRAEUS

On December 7, 1944, the Central Committee of ELAS issued the following proclamation:

Document Number 67.

Proclamation

"Indomitable and heroic men and women of Athens, Piraeus and vicinity, heroes, officers, captains and guerillas of the legendary ELAS - all born of the people.

"The general battle for liberty and the complete independence of Greece has begun. We did not desire to fight; it was forced upon us. It was forced upon us by the protector Papandreou... the Premier of traitors, of the Germano-evzones of the National Guard and the Rhallis regime. It was imposed upon us by Messrs. Leeper and Scobie. They brought tanks, airplanes, artillery and men from the fronts - to slay the Greek people and to impose a fascist dictatorship, the regime of the men who overtly collaborated with the Germans against Greece and the allied cause. They misunderstood our good intentions and our work for the orderly development of our country's affairs. Our labors for the guarantee of order, for the protection of the traitors' lives (E.N. - pending their trial) was interpreted by them as a weakness on

our part. They sought our dissolution in order that they might without hindrance impose the dictatorship of the traitors. They were mistaken. The fighting nation which crushed three conquerors can safeguard its triumphal victory. It can crush the last remnant of Greek fascism and secure its liberties, its rights, its civilization, its independence and its welfare.

"Our fight is a purely internal one. The British allies must remain neutral and we assure them that they risk no danger. As long as they attack us, we are compelled to attack them in return and the responsibility for this rests entirely with Messrs. Leeper and Scobie.

"We are waging the most sacred war for our liberty and independence. All the liberal world abroad is with us.

"Forward for the final victory. For the uprooting of fascism. For laocracy. For independence. For a real democratic government."

The Central Committee of ELAS
E. Mantakas, K. Hadjimihalis, G. Siantos

December 7, 1944.

Document Number 68.

NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (EAM)
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

The Appeal of the EAM to All
Freedom Loving Peoples

"For four years the Greek people fought fascism unceasingly. Their dead number one million. Their burned villages are counted by the thousands. Their privations and catastrophes are innumerable. Although they believed that after driving out the ruthless conquerors they would begin a peaceful, free and democratic life, they are again embroiled in a dramatic struggle. They are fiercely attacked by the monarcho-fascist forces, the war criminals, the fifth column. And unfortunately, the British armies, whom the Greek people received with open arms, are participating in this attack. British airplanes are bombing the unarmed population. Tanks are spreading death in the streets of martyred Athens. The British Navy's artillery is shelling ruined Piraeus. Colonial armies are slaying Greek democrats.

"British artillery, placed on the Acropolis, is firing from it on the residential sections of Athens and placing in immediate danger that sacred monument of civilization. War communiques are issued by the British Command in which the democratic Greek people are called enemies. Why is this? Officials stoop to a low level of falsehood in order to justify to the amazed public opinion of the democratic countries the frightful crime of the slaying of an allied people, and speak of the presence of Germans or Bulgarians in the ranks of ELAS. But nothing can muddle or hide the truth. The truth is that at this moment the entire Greek people are fighting against the dark forces of fascism. They are opposing those same forces, which the conqueror had armed and turned against the people. On our part, we did everything to avoid the present calamity. We asked from the very beginning for the dissolution and the disbandment of the security battalions, which the conqueror had organized and armed with the assistance of the Quislings and in collusion with the king and monarcho-fascist circles. We asked that the

traitors and the criminals be tried and that the state machinery be cleaned of treacherous and fascist elements. We asked for a speedy plebiscite in order to determine the fate of the king, who, since 1936 had violated his official oath, abolished the Constitution and popular liberties and instituted the Metaxas fascist dictatorship. We asked that ELAS continue its fight by the side of the Allies, outside the boundaries of Greece, for the crushing of Hitlerite Germany. We asked that ELAS fight for the liberation of Crete and the Dodecanese and when these proposals of ours were rejected we asked that all armed volunteer forces lay down their arms so that a unified National Army might be formed by regular conscription. In other words we agreed to the disarming of the popular liberation army (ELAS) which constituted nine-tenths of the volunteer forces, which had rendered invaluable and officially recognized services to the allied cause. Fascist reaction rejected all these demands; it broke the National Unity Government, and with former Premier Papandreou as its tool, it opened an attack against the Greek people using the Quisling Security Battalions. Unfortunately, the British armies are fighting by the side of these elements.

"The national independence, the liberty and the very existence of the Greek people are in danger. We are appealing to all liberal peoples and primarily to the peoples of Great Britain, the Soviet Union, America, France and Yugoslavia, not to remain indifferent to the tragedy of Greece. We are making a special appeal to the proud anti-fascist people of Great Britain not to allow British arms to be dishonored in shedding the blood of Greek democrats.

"The Greek people are expecting you, the democrats of all the world, to rise up and stop this unjust slaughter by allied arms and to help them in their bitter struggle against the fascist forces."

Athens
December 9, 1944

The Central Committee of EAM

IV

The Correspondence of General Sarafis
with Commander-in-Chief Mr. Scobie

1) After the overt, armed intervention of the British armies, General Scobie sent the following telegram to General S. Sarafis:

Document Number 69.

1) That General Sarafis was in no way to be blamed for what occurred. 2) That the British Government is determined to help Papandreou in the establishment of the Government. 3) That the revolution is being fomented by the anarchists. He is certain that Sarafis believes that the British forces are acting in the interest of the Greeks.

General Sarafis answered as follows:

Document Number 70.

"I thank you for your telegram.

"Ever since the beginning of the guerilla fight, I have attempted to unify all guerilla forces, the goal being to carry out the fight better, to render

more effective assistance to the allied cause and to avert civil war. Unfortunately, the British mission in Greece sought to create forces independent, and even inimical, to the ELAS. This activity was the occasion of repeated clashes between the guerilla forces. At the Plaka meeting and at the Lebanon Conference, we insisted on the creation of a unified guerilla force, but, unfortunately, our proposal was not accepted.

"In the Caserta agreement, we demanded and succeeded in eliminating the first clause of the agreement, which was about the right of the Commander of the British forces in Greece to impose order and law, inasmuch as this question is an internal one and within the jurisdiction of the Greek Government.

"Throughout the period up to the liberation and to the latest clashes, we carried out fully your commands, and absolute order was maintained all over Greece. Since the establishment of the Government, a state of anarchy has been created in Athens, because the Government has been using collaborationists as its tools and has not taken the necessary measures against the collaborationists, probably because members of the Government had collaborated with the John Rhallis Government for the organization of the Security Battalions. The Government's steps to disarm the ELAS and to create a National Guard from officers known to be fascists or collaborationists, and its insistence that the Sacred Battalion and the Mountain Brigade - whose fascist mentality and anti-popular convictions are well known - remain as parts of the regular Greek army, caused the resignation of the EAM Ministers. Since then the Government has ceased to represent National Unity. Without any reason, the police attacked the participants in the mass meeting. They killed 28 citizens and wounded 150. This led the people to attack the police and brought about the present situation.

"It is regrettable that battles between allies are taking place in Athens. The fight, waged at present, is not a fight of anarchists, but a fight of free men who desire their liberty and independence.

"For over two years now, we have repeatedly proclaimed to all that we would meet with guns any attempt to impose a dictatorship.

"It is regrettable that the British missions and other agencies have failed to enlighten the British Government and yourselves on the situation. Their desire was to impose on a people who fought fascism and the conquerors for eight years, a government which did not enjoy the confidence of the people, a government appointed by a conniving King. Their failure along these lines drove you to attack the Greek people and its Army, that rendered such service to you, and to proceed to the conquest and occupation of Greece, replacing the Germans and treating Greece accordingly, while overlooking all its services and sacrifices up to the present.

"As free men, standing by the side of the fighters in Athens, we will continue the struggle wherever necessary, until the time when, realizing your responsibilities, you revise your decisions and stop the attacks, so that it will be possible to form a truly National Government which guarantees the free expression of the people's beliefs, in accordance with the Atlantic charter and the Teheran agreement.

"We hope that, as allies and friends, you will remain neutral. If you insist and if we succumb to your power, we shall have fulfilled our duty to our country and people. But, we will not succumb, because Greece has never

succumbed to conquerors."

Stefanos Sarafis

December 8, 1944.

V

MEMORANDUM OF THE PARTIES FORMING THE EAM

The parties collaborating in the EAM sent on December 12, 1944, the following memorandum to the Ambassador of Great Britain:

Document Number 71.

Athens, December 11, 1944.

To His Excellency, the Ambassador of Great Britain.

City

"It was with amazement and bitterness that the Greek people, who even now are compelled to fight for their internal freedom and the independence of their country, heard the British Premier stating several times on the air and in the House of Commons that the present fight in our country is being waged only by the irreconcilable elements of the extreme left, who, according to him, form the gangs or bands in the mountains that terrorize the countryside.

"The parties and the organizations that sign this memorandum and that, together, with the Communist party, constitute the EAM, consider it their duty to inform Your Excellency and the people of the nation you represent, that the present struggle is waged by the majority of the Greek people, who belong to these parties, under the guidance and leadership of this allied coalition of the parties and organizations of EAM.

"The fight is being conducted by the people, together with ELAS, the heroic military branch of the EAM - the organization which with its 70,000 volunteer fighters fought the Germans for two and a half years by the side of the Allies and rendered great services to the Allied cause against the Germans, services which even Mr. Churchill recognized.

"The gangs of terrorists are those against whom the EAM and the people are fighting. The gangs of terrorists are those who during the occupation were armed by the Germans and forced into bands. These are the gangs that killed the Greek people with the help of the Gestapo and the SS. It is these very persons who are preparing coup-d'etat solutions in order to inflict a fascist dictatorial regime upon Greece, and who today lead those who were the first to fire at and to kill the unarmed Greek people on December 3rd and 4th. It is these bands and gangs of terrorists whom Mr. Scobie is using together with the British forces to slay the people of Athens and of Piraeus, going so far as to resort to savage and barbaric means - means not used, even by the Germans - such as strafing the noncombatant population from the air, bombing from planes and shelling from their ships, the residential areas of Athens and of Piraeus, and even placing artillery on the sacred rock of the Acropolis to fire more easily on the people, regardless of whether this would expose to danger the immortal monuments which belong to all mankind.

"The present fight which the Greek people are conducting jointly with the EAM-ELAS is no Communistic Revolution, but the inevitable defense of the internal freedom and independence of the country.

"The Greek people, consistent with their history, and sure that once the British Government is properly enlightened there will be a radical change in the tactics of the present official British policy, will continue this struggle even more spiritedly, for they believe that they have the sympathies of the people of Great Britain as well as of the people of all free nations."

For the Union of Popular Democracy	S. Dimopoulos
For the United Socialist Party	L. Marangos
For the Agrarian Party of Greece	K. Gavrielides
For the Democratic Union	S. Kritikas
For the Socialist Party of Greece	D. Stratis
For the Democratic Party of Greece	L. Hadjiemmanuel
For the General Confederation of Workers of Greece	M. Maryiolis
For the Central All State Employees Committee	Ch. Kalandjis
For the National Solidarity Organization	P. Simos
For the United Panhellenic Organization of Young People (EPON)	G. Georgalas

VI

EFFORTS TO END THE HOSTILITIES

Even after the conflict, the EAM and ELAS exerted every effort and yielded on many points in order to stop the war. Through the mediation of one of the politicians, Mr. S. Mercouris, former Minister of Labor, fellow-fighter Mr. Porfyroyenis called on General Scobie for this purpose.

- 1) These are the terms proposed by the General for the cessation of hostilities:

Document Number 72.

- "1) The ELAS forces must obey my orders as forces under my command, in accordance with the Caserta agreement.
 - "2) In addition, all supporters of the ELAS in Athens and Piraeus must be instructed to cease resistance and to lay down their arms. Special orders will be given as to how this is to be done. The number of ELAS supporters is known to me and in the event the number of arms surrendered is not satisfactory I will consider that conditions of agreement have not been met.
 - "3) Just as soon as the terms are fulfilled I shall notify General Alexander, who will take the necessary steps for the termination of the present conflict in Greece and will give back to all Greeks, irrespective of political convictions, the opportunity to enjoy peacefully their democratic liberties. The demobilization of private armies is the first measure toward the enjoyment of these liberties."
- 2) On December 14, the Central Committee of ELAS sent Mr. Scobie the following answer regarding his terms:

Document Number 73.

The Central Committee of ELAS

To General Scobie of the
3rd British Army Corps.

"The sudden plunging into blood of the Athenian people, which we have now been witnessing for thirteen consecutive days, is a result of the unyielding insistence of the reactionary Right upon the partial demobilization of the ELAS forces, the reaction's purpose being subsequently to impose a fascistic dictatorship. Unfortunately, in violation of the expressed agreements at Caserta and of the declared aims of the Allied cause, General Scobie adopted and even supported with arms these attempts of the Right, intervening in the internal affairs of an allied country.

"As a result of these deplorable actions, we are witnessing the regrettable spectacle of two allied peoples, who fought side by side against the common enemy, themselves coming in to armed conflict and we are mourning thousands of victims especially non-combatants against whom the airplanes, the guns and the tanks of Great Britain were turned.

"Despite these painful events, insisting, as always, on a normal and democratic development of our country, we propose the following in answer to the conditions which General Scobie presented to us through fellow-fighter M. Porfyroyenis.

- "1) Until the final solution of the entire military question at issue, by the National Unity Government which is to be formed, we agree to withdraw the ELAS Army temporarily from the cities of Athens-Piraeus to the General Line which is defined in the message of the Third British Army Corps of October 3, 1944;
- "2) Simultaneously, the Mountain Brigade and the Sacred Battalion must withdraw from Athens and Piraeus to an area which will be determined through mutual agreement;
- "3) The entire Gendarmerie force is to be disarmed and ejected from service. Its men are to be sent to their homes.

The men the officers of the former Rhallis battalions must be disarmed and really imprisoned pending their trials.

- "4) The British Forces stationed in Greece, are to confine their activities exclusively to the fulfillment of the missions defined in the Caserta agreements, which make no provision for the use of these armies in the internal affairs of Greece.
- "5) The Country's political circles are to be left uninfluenced in order to form speedily a real National Unity Government, which will adjust in a democratic manner the entire political and military problem of the country including the matter of disarming those not entitled to carry weapons."

December 14, 1944.

The Central Committee of ELAS
E. Mantakas, M. Hadjimihalis,
G. Siantos.

- 3) On December 13, the Central Committee of ELAS adopted the following

resolution:

Document Number 74.

"The history of the Greek people is a continuous struggle for liberty, and our national independence is the fruit of a struggle which lasted for centuries and reached its climax in the epic of the Revolution of 1821.

"In October 1940, when nearly all Europe was swept by Fascism, the Greek people did not hesitate even for a moment to rise against the formidable military machinery of the Axis. The victories which the Greek people won on the mountains of Albania were the first successes in the anti-fascist fight and gave assurance once more that nothing can subdue a people who are determined to die for their liberty and the independence of their country. Greece was occupied in 1941, but, simultaneously, our national resistance began. EAM was the animating factor, the organizer and the guide in the nation's fight, in the course of which the Greek people saw hundreds of thousands of their brothers meet their death, and thousands of villages being burned. The national wealth was plundered. Our contribution to the Allied cause was considerable. The fight of the Greek people, under the guidance of the EAM was not aimed only at national liberation. It was also a fight for democracy, for the freedom of the people from every fascist imposition and from every remnant of dictatorship. It is for this reason that, headed by the Monarchy, reaction, which is accountable to the nation for the Metaxas-King dictatorship, combated in every way possible our efforts for national liberation and the people's liberation. With the help of the Germans and the Quislings, reaction organized the Security Battalions and other fascist organizations from the scum of the Greek people. These treacherous and fascist forces which massacred the Greek people, in collaboration with the conqueror, were working for the establishment of a new 4th of August dictatorship.

"Despite the fact that the great majority of the Greek people rallied under the banner of the EAM and that national unity was substantially realized, nevertheless we went to Lebanon, because we wanted to avoid any high-handed solutions and civil war.

"Thanks to indefatigable efforts, sacrifices and concessions on our part, a national Unity Government was achieved and we declared once more that the nation's vital interests demanded a smooth democratic transition to political life.

"Yet, the forces of reaction inside and outside the Government, violating order and smooth democratic development, have been plotting and conspiring ever since the first day of liberation. They hinder the arrest and punishment of collaborationists and war criminals, because they tremble at the thought of what will be revealed. They allow all the fascist and treacherous enemies from the fourth of August dictatorship to remain in the State machinery. They maintain the Security Battalions, which were organized and armed by the Conqueror. They are fascist organizations. They bring gendarmes from all parts of Greece to Athens. They transport from the Italian front to Athens the Mountain Brigade, the Sacred Battalion and volunteer formations with a one **sided** composition and officers, and attempt to staff the new National Guard with officers who had served in the Security Battalions.

"Although the EAM is familiar with the attempts of the reaction, which is preparing high-handed measures, nevertheless, true to the program of national

unity and of political normalcy, it is doing everything possible to prevent civil war. Despite the fact that ELAS was the only force of resistance and liberation; despite the fact that it constituted a guarantee of order and that it totaled nine-tenths of the armed forces, yet the EAM proposes total **demobilization** and the forming of a National Army by regular conscription. But reaction, headed by Papandreou, wants to disarm only the democratic forces, rejects our proposals, thus rendering unavoidable the splitting of the National Unity Government, provokes foreign intervention and begins the war with a murderous attack against the unarmed Greek people.

"In defense of their inalienable rights, the Greek people were compelled to fight with arms in their hands for the protection of their liberty. For over 10 days now, Athens and Piraeus have been turned into battlefields. General Scobie's guns, mortars, airplanes and tanks are spreading death and desolation. The elements of the old political world by the attitude they are taking in expectation of partisan gains through the destruction of the Greek people, are becoming co-responsible for this destruction. Yet, despite the attitude of the reactionary elements, the EAM - true to the fundamental principles of National Unity, of normal democratic evolution and the protection of the nation's vital interests - refrained from forming a Government organ, despite the fact that at present it controls the country, with the exception of two or three streets in the heart of Athens. At this most critical moment in the life of our country, it does not fail to explore the last possibility in order to settle the Greek crisis. It declares that even today it agrees to come to an understanding so that a way may be found which will lead to normalcy on the following bases: It declares that it does not wish to seize power. It does not wish a coup-d'etat of any kind. It does not wish a one-sided Government of the Left. The bases for the understanding it proposes are as follows:

- 1) The immediate and real application and the consistent and scrupulous observance of the existing allied policy on non-intervention in our internal affairs; and the Allied Armies to be faithful in the observance of the Caserta agreement. The development of the political situation, the solution of our political questions, to be an exclusively Greek affair.
- 2) The forming of a regency so that the governmental crisis can be peacefully met and smoothly solved.
- 3) The formation of a democratic government of a real national unity, that is a government of true democratic conscience to guarantee the democratic liberties of the people and to insure the normal evolution of our political life, by speedily holding a plebiscite to decide the form of our government, and, by conducting elections for the Constituent Assembly.
- 4) Regarding the pressing question at issue it has become clear to every man of good faith that there can be no other solution than the total demobilization of all volunteer forces and the organization of a National Army, through regular conscription and with ranking officers who, following expurgation, will be designated by the military authorities.
- 5) The sincere and honest application of all that was agreed upon and promised in the Lebanon agreement and the programmatic declarations of the National Government, up to the day of its virtual dissolution, regarding other matters, which are still pending: the Gendarmerie, the Police, the National Guard, punishment of collaborationists, purging of public agencies, etc. Every democratic Greek patriot, every liberal man has the

whole truth before him. We are not a minority but an overwhelming majority of the Greek people. We are fighting at the head of this majority for democracy and genuine liberty of the people. We remain unshakenly faithful to the Allied cause and we are struggling to crush the dark forces of fascism which constitute our country's fifth column. Our cause is just because it is the cause of the nation, the cause of the people, and because our efforts are in perfect harmony with the great aims of the United Nations. The acceptance of the views stated above will not be a victory for the left, it will be a victory for justice, a victory for Greece, and victory for the allied cause. Truly united, we will then turn the energies and the vitality of our people to the general reconstruction of our country.

"We make the last effort to achieve an understanding in order to serve the nation's interests. Should this attempt of ours also fail, the responsibility will not be ours. Our people will continue their just struggle with even more vehemence. The place of every democrat, every Greek is on the side of the people. United all, we will win in this sacred fight for democracy, for the independence of the nation, for the welfare of the country."

Athens, December 15, 1944

For the Central Committee of EAM

D. Partsalides

The Cooperating Parties

Communist Party of Greece, Agrarian Party of Greece, United Socialist Party of Greece, Union of Popular Democracy, Democratic Union, Socialist Party of Greece, Democratic Party of Greece, General Confederation of Greek Workers, Central All-State Employees' Committee, National Solidarity.

4) In his memorandum of December 16, General Scobie answered as follows:

Document Number 75.

Memorandum

"To the Central Committee of ELAS

"Lieutenant General R, Scobie, Commander-in-Chief of the Land forces in Greece, received on this day, December 16, the memorandum of the Central Committee of ELAS, dated December 14:

"I am happy to see that the first point of this memorandum accepts the first condition which he advanced in the declarations he made on December 12, to Mr. Porfyroyenis, to wit, that the ELAS formations should withdraw from Attica to the general line which was defined in the memorandum to the Third Corps, under date of December 3.

"We must remark, however, that the memorandum does not refer to his second condition, to wit, that all supporters of ELAS in Athens and the Piraeus should cease all resistance and should surrender their arms,

"We must continue insisting upon a satisfactory fulfillment of this condition. Before turning to the other matters, raised in the memorandum, General Scobie must point out that the Greek Sacred Battalion is no longer in

the Attica region; furthermore that the statement of the third point regarding the Rhallis' battalions is entirely inaccurate. These battalions have been disarmed and none of their officers and men who were held as prisoners of the State at the beginning of hostilities, has been freed.

"General Scobie is happy to see that point 4 of the memorandum refers to the Caserta agreement. He is publishing separately the full text of this agreement from which it will become clear that the British troops in Greece literally applied this agreement.

"Regarding his statement of December 12, General Scobie repeats that in the event that the two preceding conditions are satisfactorily met, he will report immediately to the High Military Commander in the Mediterranean, General Alexander, and he does not believe that there will be any obstacle to the General's taking the necessary steps to bring to an end this disorder, and to restore the enjoyment of democratic liberties to all Greeks, regardless of their political convictions. As he has previously **stated**, and he is happy to **see** that point 5 of the memorandum refers to this, one of the first measures which will be necessary must be the disbandment of the irregular forces of any political conviction, with the prospect of re-organization of the regular National Forces. The re-organization of the Gendarmerie should be included here. Regarding the Greek Mountain Brigade, General Scobie will be ready to order this Brigade to return to the barracks where it was quartered before the beginning of hostilities, in the event that his two demands are fulfilled immediately."

Athens, December 18, 1944.

The genuineness of the copy is certified.

Signature (illegible)

5) The Central Committee of ELAS answered as follows on December 18:
File No. 401

Document Number 76.

Memorandum

"The Central Committee of the EAM acknowledges receipt, under date of December 16, 1944, of memorandum 740,900 of the Commander of the 3rd British Army Corps in Greece. On the points touched upon by General Scobie, the Central Committee of ELAS has the following remarks to make:

"1) We do not believe that the Caserta agreements can change things and that they can justify in any manner the bloody interference of the British forces in Greece against the Greek people.

"We should like to recall that at the suggestion of the Left-wing and of the ELAS delegates in Caserta, it was agreed to delete from the draft of the agreement the clause which gave the British forces the right to restore law and order in Greece, and that the clause in question was deleted. Consequently, the sad events which led to the blood bath of the people of Athens-Piraeus can find no support in the Caserta agreement, nor in the declared aims of the United Nations, nor in moral law.

"2) Regarding the matter of restoring normalcy and the liberties of the Greek people, we wish to remark that the referring of these matters to Marshal Alexander is contrary to the agreement of Caserta because it constitutes

intervention in the internal affairs of Greece. It is not acceptable that the liberties of the Greek people, for which they have shed and are shedding so much blood should be acted upon from outside through the intervention of third parties. The Greek people are sovereign in their country and it is indispensable that their Government be that of a truly free and independent country, a government which, by expressing the manifest will of the people, would make democratic liberties respected by all. This Government must at the earliest moment rid the State machinery of all the elements which collaborated with the enemy, must enforce legal punishment of those who proved unworthy of the country, must organize a regular National Army after the demobilization of all volunteer forces, the Mountain Brigade and the Sacred Battalion included, and, must lead the country at the earliest possible time to free elections, so that the people may declare what political regime and what Government they wish to have. All this must be the task of the Greek Government.

- "3) Concentration of the Mountain Brigade in its barracks does not fulfill the purpose for which its removal from Athens-Piraeus was asked. This purpose is fulfilled only if the Mountain Brigade and the Greek army sections, which were transferred recently from the Middle East or elsewhere, are really withdrawn from Athens, i.e. to Syros or to other islands of the Cyclades. Also, the Gendarmerie must be disarmed and its men and officers sent to their homes pending the purging of the entire corps.
- "4) We continue to believe that the disarming, without exception, of all officers and men of the former Rhallis Battalions and of the forces of Special Security etc., which were assimilated into these Battalions and real confinement of all these elements, is a matter which calls for fuller examination and realization.
- "5) Once a general agreement is reached, it is self-evident that the supporters of ELAS in Athens and the Piraeus would cease their resistance simultaneously with the withdrawing of our other forces from Athens-Piraeus.

"We accept the disarming of the above supporters of ELAS, which, as is also self-evident, will take place simultaneously with the disarming of the supporters of the opposing camp: In regard to this disarming, we propose the only realizable method we can think of, i.e. that it be carried out by the government of mutual confidence which will be formed. Moreover, it is also a matter of principle that the surrender of arms of Greek citizens must be made only to a Greek Government."

December 18, 1944

The Central Committee of EIAS.

VII

THE INTERVENTION OF THE BRITISH ARMIES
AND THE CASERTA AGREEMENT

- 6) With reference to General Scobie's assertion that his intervention was justified on the basis of the Caserta agreement, the EAM made the following statement:

Document Number 77.

"1) In articles 1 and 2 of the Caserta agreement it is stated:

'All guerilla forces active in Greece are placed under the orders of the Greek Government, The Greek Government places these forces under the orders of General Scobie.' These articles show that only the Greek Government in power could decide on the fate of these guerilla forces, i.e. decide as to whether they will remain as they were or be incorporated into the regular army, etc.

"As Commander-in-Chief, General Scobie had only the right to use the above forces in war operations. This distinction besides being included in the agreement is also self-evident since the contrary is incompatible with the independence of the country. In accordance with the above, as long as the Greek Government had not decided on the dissolution of the guerilla forces, General Scobie could not by any means, on his own, order their dissolution.

"But, even if a pertinent decision of the Greek Government had been made, and even if the guerilla forces had refused to obey, in that case again, only the Greek Government could impose its will through its own exclusive forces. For, if it was powerless to impose its will it would cease to express the State's authority. International law and the agreements between the allies prohibit explicitly the intervention of foreign powers in the internal quarrels of any country, even if such intervention is asked by the powerless Government.

"2) In the aims of the operations for which the Caserta agreement makes provision, it is stated: 'b) At the time the territory is in process of liberation, both Commanders (Sarafis, Zervas) will be personally responsible to the Commander of Force 140 (Scobie) for 1) the observance of law and order in the territories where their forces are active. 2) The avoidance of civil war, etc.'

"It seems that General Scobie bases his intervention on these provisions. But it is apparent that these regulations define the question of law and order for the period when the country would be gradually liberated, to wit, for the preservation of order in every area which the guerilla forces should seize after driving out the conqueror.

"But the country was liberated, and order was preserved according to the statement of Mr. Scobie himself.

"The country has been free for the past two months. Its independence was realized and the ambassadors of foreign countries had taken up residence in the Capital. The Government voted laws, decrees, etc.

"Following all this, no basis existed for the application of the above stipulations. It would be absurd to believe that after the liberation a British General could occupy himself indefinitely with internal Greek affairs, upon the basis of the Caserta agreement. Furthermore, the same regulations provide that Greek Commanders (Sarafis, Zervas) will maintain law and order at the time that Greek territory is in the process of liberation and that they alone would be personally responsible to Commander-in-Chief Scobie; that is, even if disorders should occur at the time of the country's liberation, even then the British forces could not intervene, but the Greek Commanders were to be personally responsible to Mr. Scobie. "

THE DECISION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU
OF THE GREEK COMMUNIST PARTY.

On December 17, 1944 when the civil war in Athens had reached its most crucial phase and responsible political persons were slandering our struggle as an attempt of the Communist Party to seize power by force, the Political Bureau of the Greek Communist Party took the following decision:

Document Number 78.

"Although two months have not yet elapsed since the liberation of Athens and although the Germans are still occupying Crete, the representatives of Great Britain, Scobie and Leeper, aided by 'protector' Papandreou have launched a frightful war against the people of Athens and Piraeus **and are** imposing another harsh struggle on Greece. This struggle is but another amazing phase of the same war for liberation which for the past three **years** the Greek people have been waging on the side of the Allies for freedom, for their country's independence, for democracy, and the people's sovereignty. It is an equally just, national, popular, democratic struggle in accordance with the principles of the Allied war as stated in the Atlantic charter and in the declarations of Teheran.

"In the three years' struggle against the fascist invaders the people's democratic forces were mobilized and organized to form the EAM which led in the struggle for resistance and rendered important services to the allied war and especially to British operations in Africa, Italy and the Mediterranean. Without any substantial assistance to speak of in terms of arms and with absolutely none in food and medicines, the fighting Greek people sacrificed everything to the common allied cause for freedom. The Cairo Governments of Tsouderos and Papandreou, continuing the policy of the 4th of August, reinforced by internal and external reaction and by the members of the British Military Mission in Greece, fought against the liberation movement with every possible means. They slandered it, encouraged collaboration with the conqueror and fomented civil war with the formation of Security Battalions and Fascist Bands ranging from that of Tsaous-Anton to that of Papadogona - dissolved the Army of the Middle East, and are exterminating thousands of fighters in Africa after having brought about repeated revolts with their fascistic policy and with their provocateurs.

"Indifferent to the national struggle, they aimed for one thing, to crush the people's democratic forces and to impose a new fascistic dictatorship with Glucksburg. In spite of all this opposition, the Greek Communist Party along with the EAM, honorably held the banner of the anti-fascist war on the side of the Allies.

"The Greek Communist Party, expressing the desire of the Greek people to solve their internal problems in a democratic way, and to prevent civil war, succeeded by its steadfastness and its consistent political course, in forming a Government of National Unity, even under an untrustworthy Premier, and lent that Government prestige and a people's basis. During the liberation period, when its opponents were afraid that it was going to seize the power as it could have easily done - the Greek Communist Party proved beyond dispute the sincerity and honesty of its democratic purposes. It maintained perfect order in the capital and the other cities and asked the people to wait for the Government to satisfy their requests. During the month and a half of the existence of the Government it demonstrated through popular

meetings the indomitable desire of the people to **see** their liberties safeguarded and to solve their problems in a democratic way. Inside the Government and out, the Greek Communist Party and the EAM did everything possible to put into effect democratic solutions and to prevent bloodshed. Papandreou, depending on reactionary circles and inspired by an insistent opposition to the principles of the war - a position taken in our country by Leeper and Scobie - aimed only at disarming the democratic forces and at reorganizing the armed fascistic battalions to impose the Glucksburg dictatorship. General Scobie's only mission according to the Caserta Agreement was to assist in the liberation of Greece from the invader and he had no other rights. Now, Papandreou, Leeper and Scobie violate the principles of war, the Caserta and Lebanon agreements, and government promises, scrap our national independence and dignity, trample on the **rights** of the sovereign Greek people and **are** preparing a civil war and a neofascistic tyranny. They leave the question of the Regency open. The treacherous fascistic forces remain intact. War criminals and collaborationists remain unpunished. Armed Greek Nazis remain in Goudi. Not only is the machinery of the state not purged but new fascist collaborationists are being appointed. Instead of accepting the disarmament of all the armed forces and the organization of a true National Guard, they are attempting to preserve all the monarcho-fascist bands of the Mountain Brigades and the Sacred Battalions and the organization of a fascistic National Guard while refusing to **send** any reinforcements to enslaved Crete.

"Instead of dismissing the Gendarmerie they assemble in Athens Gendarmes from all parts of Greece as well as fifth-column collaborationists. The small amount of bread and supplies to which our people are entitled from the Allies was given to them in minute quantities and not even two ships were allocated for their transportation, while more than half a million tons of Greek shipping were placed at the disposal of the Allied cause - and two thirds of that tonnage was destroyed in that cause. In a long series of underhanded actions they have been trying to break the morale of the Greek people, to disarm them and to impose upon them, after the 10th of December, a dictatorship of reaction by force.

"The forced resignation of the Ministers of the Left deprived the Papandreou Government which was dependent upon Scobie and the reactionary Right, of any popular base. This same government, executing its orders of the reaction, began the slaughter and plunged into blood the people's democratic demonstrations of December 3rd and 4th in Athens, launching a bloody terror against the democratic population. The Papandreou Government, which remained in power only on orders from Leeper and Scobie, has ceased to be, even in name, a Greek Government. It becomes a protectorate appointed by foreigners - a thing incompatible with the independence of Greece.

"The continuation of the Papandreou Government in power and the party support it receives also according to orders from Mr. Scobie, show the complete bankruptcy and alienation of the old political world from the struggle of the Greek people for the creation of a free, independent, democratic Greece, ruled by the people. This Government of collaborationists and civil war, which was appointed by a Foreign General, following General Scobie's orders, invites him to drown in blood the liberated people of Athens-Piraeus.

"British forces, which come speedily with abundant war supplies, tanks, airplanes, artillery, ships, British and colonial soldiers, Indians and African pigmies, in collaboration with hirelings of the Germans, dressed as

Evzones, with the Bouradas,* the Gendarmes, the Police and members of the "X" organization as well as the Monarcho-fascist Mountain Brigade and the newly-formed fascist units, began their war of annihilation against the non-combatant population of Athens with an intensity and to an extent which not even the Hitler invaders had dared. Leeper and Papandreou are planning to spread this slaughter all over Greece, to kindle civil war and mutual massacre so as to bring to their knees our proud democratic people.

"Together with the ELAS, the people of Athens-Piraeus are facing this unheard of invasion with a heroism worthy of their just cause. From Kaissarini to Kokkinia, the resistance fighters against the invaders, strengthened by the armed groups who arrive from the provinces, are shedding their blood for liberty and democracy. The entire Greek people rise with one accord to shed their blood to defend their peace, their unity, their country, their liberty.

"The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the KKE (Communist Party of Greece), true to the cause of liberty, of the independence of Greece and of Democracy, denounces to the Greek people as treason and a national crime, the policy of the reaction, which, together with Papandreou has provoked an armed foreign invasion, and sells the independence of the country and changes the latter into a colonial protectorate. The responsibility for the bloodshed rests entirely with the reactionary Right, which, just as it had in the past worked with the Germans, so nowadays, too, it has no other goal but to suppress the democratic forces and to impose a fascist dictatorship. It protests against the intervention of Great Britain and of Churchill, who treat their small ally, Greece, like a conquered province and drown in blood the friendship of our martyred people in order to impose by force a dictatorship hated by the people. It declares the friendship of our people for liberal and democratic England and believes that the English people will give us their support, strengthening the friendly ties between us and helping us to protect the democracy of our country. The Greek people, who sacrificed themselves in the fight against Hitlerism and for allied victory, are ready to continue their fight by the side of the allies until the final crushing of fascism. They declare that the present struggle of the Greek people is a National, a popular, a democratic one. Together with the EAM which represents the big democratic majority of the nation, we are fighting for popular liberties and for the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Teheran declarations against violence and highhandedness, no matter from where they come. They declare the determined will of the nation to fight, as it fought the Italian-German-Bulgarian invaders for liberty and democracy. Greece belongs to the Greeks. Greece and democracy are in danger.

"The Political Bureau of the Executive Committee of the KKE, in absolute accord with the conciliatory proposals of EAM which constitute the minimum guarantees for the life and the liberty of the people, calls upon all the people to fight for the acceptance of the terms of EAM and of the Central Committee of ELAS. It calls upon all patriots, all democrats, the entire toiling nation, regardless of political and social convictions, to take their positions in the cruel and harsh, but sacred struggle for the honor, the dignity, the independence and the free democratic future of the country.

"Greece is free, because Greeks know how to die for their liberty.

* Editor's Note: Bouradas was the head of Greek Nazi motorized units which terrorized the people during the occupation.

"Forward, Greek citizens! Every one up in arms to defend, unitedly, our life, our internal peace and our unity; to prevent the fratricide which they are organizing; to end the murderous foreign invasion which threatens to destroy our nation; to form a Greek democratic government of real national unity which will solve all our internal problems. Deeply conscious that history will justify our struggle, we believe that all liberal and democratic mankind, which is following with sympathy our unequal fight, will support us until the moment of triumph, when democracy is ensured in our land.

"Forward all! For liberty and independence! For democracy!"

December 17. 1944.

The Political Bureau of the
Central Committee of KKE

IX

THE LAWS OF WAR ARE VIOLATED

In the meantime, although an agreement had been reached on the basic terms proposed by Mr. Scobie for the cessation of hostilities, the extermination of the poorest neighborhoods are continued at an increasingly more fierce and destructive pace with airplanes, artillery fired from ships and land, with rocket bombs and tanks.

The Central Committee of the EAM asked for the intercession of the International Red Cross in the hope of terminating this planned massacre. Here is the pertinent document:

Document Number 79.

December 20, 1944

Mr. John de Renier
Presiding Vice-Chairman of the
International Committee of the Red Cross,
City

Dear Sir:

"In further reference to our previous communications relative to the matter of the bombardments of the non-combatant population, we have the honor to inform you that not only have these bombardments not stopped but that since then they have been intensified, for the British airplanes have bombed with bombs and rockets, and have strafed the residential parts of Athens, - the Three Bridges, the Skouze Hill, the Penesi mills, the neighborhoods of Kypseli and of Piraeus as well as the surrounding districts resulting in dead and wounded which today exceeds 2500.

"In his announcement yesterday which was dropped from airplanes, General Scobie maintains that ELAS placed machine guns within the cities of Athens-Piraeus and in the suburbs and that, in consequence, beginning at nine o'clock tomorrow the spots where the machine guns are placed will be shelled with bombs, rockets and with land and sea artillery.

"We suspect that Mr. Scobie's announcement is intended to justify fiercer bombardments in the future with which he expects to subdue the resistance of

the heroic people of the two cities. Since it is known that he has placed artillery within the city and especially on Lycabatos and even on the Acropolis, we protest strongly the continuous violation of the laws of warfare and humanity, and we have the honor to beg you, in your official capacity as representative of the International humanitarian organization, the Red Cross, to take the necessary steps to end these inhuman actions which are so much the less justifiable as they are turned against an allied people which has fought self-sacrificingly for liberty.

"On this occasion we are sending you a list of required medicines and sanitary material for the care of our wounded, most of whom are part of the non-combatant population, and we request that you plead provide us with these.

"Please accept, Dear Sir, the expression of our best sentiments."

For the Central Committee of the EAM
Alc. Loulis

X

MESSRS. CHURCHILL AND EDEN IN ATHENS

In the midst of the internal conflict, Prime Minister Churchill and Foreign Affairs' Minister Anthony Eden came to Athens. Let us follow their activities:

- 1) On December 25, Churchill invited the spokesmen of the political world to a Conference. The conference was presided over by the Archbishop of Greece, Damaskinos. We are giving a resume of the minutes published in the newspaper "Eleftheri Ellada", issues No. 99 and 100.

Document Number 80.

"When the conference began, Prime Minister Churchill took the floor. He stressed the point that the matters pending were not to be solved by violence. But it is necessary that a solution be found for the very ugly situation existing in Greece. He extolled the heroism of the Greek people in resisting the Italian and German invaders and in their struggle during the occupation. He remarked that General Scobie's terms must be accepted and that finally the political leaders of Greece, undistracted, would solve the entire question. In concluding, he said that should the conferees need him, he would be at their service.

"At the end of Mr. Churchill's address the Secretary of EAM asked why the EAM was not invited officially. Mr. Eden answered that both sides were invited and that the invitation to the EAM was included in that for ELAS. Immediately afterwards Messrs. Eden and Churchill, as well as other guests left.

"Then since none would speak, fellow-fighter Siantos asked the Chairman what was the purpose of the conference.

"The Archbishop answered: 'That you should surrender the arms.'

"Siantos: 'If you called us for this, come and get them. We do not intend to have a new Lebanon. If you think that we come here so that you may insult

us, you should say so, for in that case we will be compelled to retire. But in such event you will bear the entire responsibility for having frustrated the conference.' Following the statements of fellow-fighter Siantos, the conferees said that the discussion should proceed.

"Mr. Cafantaris said that in order to find a solution it would be necessary to settle the first matter, i.e. that of the Regency and asked whether those present agree on this.

"Fellow-fighter Siantos answered immediately that the side he represents agrees on the establishment of a Regency. Mr. Sofoulis refused to express his opinion because he could not decide alone. Mr. Maximos, after many reservations, accepted it as a 'necessary evil'. Finally this matter was left pending.

"Mr. Papandreou then attempted to justify his criminal policy.

"Mr. Cafantaris bitterly accused Mr. Papandreou, characterizing him as an unworthy political leader and as principally responsible for the present tragic situation, and emphasized that for the 2000 praetors of the Mountain Brigade he had plunged the land into blood.

"Finally, he underlined the fact that the political leaders and not the British would solve the pending questions. 'A king for Greece', he said, 'means a 4th of August (dictatorship) and fascism.'

"We must add that Sofoulis and Papandreou retired while the discussion was going on. However, at the suggestion of the English, Papandreou returned to the conference. Plastiras accused the EAM and ELAS, stating that with their insignificant activities during the occupation they had caused catastrophes in the land,

"Fellow-fighter Siantos interrupted him and stressed that all the time Plastiras was vacationing in Nice, the Greek people were fighting the conquerors and that the Allies recognized the action of ELAS as a valuable contribution to the common cause.

"Fellow-fighter Siantos spoke again, citing the sacrifices and concessions made by the EAM and KKE in order to ensure a normal democratic solution, and remarked that not one of all the things that had been agreed upon had been realized. The state machinery remained as it was during the occupation. No collaborationists had been brought to trial. Demands were made for disarming of ELAS while arms were imported day and night to supply the fifth column. In bitter terms, he accused Papandreou of being responsible because not only had he stained his hands with the blood of the Greek people, but also he had swayed the English to a war against Greece.

"'Regarding Papandreou' he said, 'any discussion of his participation in the government, even as a plain minister, is out of the question.' He bitterly condemned the intervention of the English and the cruelties they were perpetrating.

"'We believe,' he said, 'that our cause is absolutely right.'

"'We did not provoke the present situation, which is really an ugly one. We are defending the rights of the people. But we are not discussing the question of responsibilities. Neither can you judge us nor can we judge you.'

The people are the judge. It is for this reason that we ask that the plebiscite and the elections be held at the earliest **possible** time.

"We think that a solution can be found for the present situation, provided we desire it.

"Two points must constitute the basis of the agreement: Democracy and independence. This conciliatory spirit should not be mistaken for weakness. We are determined to continue the struggle for democracy and independence and we have all Greece on our side.

"Under no circumstances will we submit."

At the end of his talk, Plastiras asked how 'the Military question' could be solved. Siantos reminded him of our well-known position: general demobilization, creation of a National Army. At this point, Plastiras asked excitedly: 'and what will become then of my 30 Battalions which have been mobilized?'

"Siantos: Have you 30 Battalions? Why don't you send these to dissolve us instead of sending the English?

"It was finally decided that a more inclusive conference of the parties should be held today at 11 a.m., in which the question of Regency and the entire political question would be discussed and decisions taken.

"Cafantaris: I am not a defender of the left wing. I did not say all that I said about the Mountain Brigade in order to defend the left, but in order to show that it was a mistake for Mr. Papandreou to lead us to a conflict for the sake of the Mountain Brigade. If Mr. Papandreou thought that it was necessary to bring about the conflict, he ought to have chosen other pretexts, not the matter of keeping in their ports 2000 praetors especially when he had agreed to see them disbanded, and changed his position later. Mr. Papandreou came to Athens, but he did not consider it necessary to hold a conference of the political parties and to explain what happened in Egypt. He did not explain to us with whose mandate he came to us as Premier. This is not a democratic way of Government. He is submitting his resignation to us today. We are not interested in what he is going to do. His resignation does not solve the crisis. A Regency will solve it.

"The Archbishop: Yesterday, the left wing declared that they would surrender their arms to a new Government. Could the Left tell us what they mean when they speak of a new Government and under what terms they will surrender their arms?

"Siantos: Before the basic problems are solved we have nothing to tell you regarding the surrender of our arms. The arms are our affair and the affair of the British. The question is: Does the political world desire to establish a government of National Unity. Yes or no? If the answer is yes, then let us discuss this matter. I agree with Mr. Cafantaris that the first step toward the solution of the Greek difficulties is the Regency, which will lead to the solution of the Government question. We cannot surrender the arms to the so-called Papandreou Government because a state of war exists between it and us, unless you believe that Papandreou constitutes a government of National Unity.

"Papandreou: I did not say that a government of National Unity exists.

"Partsalides: Yesterday the matter of Regency came up for discussion. I see that this matter is being side-stepped. It is common knowledge that the conflict could have been averted if we had had a Regency. For, when Papandreou resigned on December 4, and Mr. Sofoulis was invited and at that time came in touch with the EAM and the KKE, it would have been possible to form a Government. Consequently, the Regency constitutes a primary prerequisite for ending the crisis.

"Canellopoulos bitterly assailed the EAM.

"Siantos: Our duty is not to hold discussions but to find a solution which will extricate us from the present situation. I repeat our position: A new Government, enjoying mutual confidence must be formed, to which the ELAS will surrender its arms.

"In the face of the EAM representatives' insistence, the Archbishop reported that the following had declared themselves in favor of a Regency: Cafantaris, Sofoulis, Siantos, Partsalides, Mylonas, Sofianopoulos, Plastiras, Maximos, Gonatas and Canellopoulos. Those in favor of deferring of the matter of a Regency: Theotokis, Alexandris, Rhallis, Tsaldaris, Stephanopoulos and Papandreou. It was considered that the matter of the institution of the Regency had been solved by this vote, and fellow-fighter Siantos was asked to state the views of EAM regarding the reorganization of the Government and its program.

'Siantos: The government which will be formed must be a government of real national unity. The program must be enforced in reality. A repetition of what happened with the previous government would be unacceptable to us. The program of the new government must be: 1) Punishment of the collaborationists: It is the demand of the people that anyone accused of acts of treason be brought to trial. 2) Purging of the State machinery: It is impossible to administer a free and democratic country through the State machinery, as constituted today, with the pillars of the 4th of August regime and collaborationists in responsible administrative posts. 3) Dissolution of the Gendarmerie: Through this Corps, Maniadakis and the conquerors committed outrages against the people. Healthy elements of the Gendarmerie, after an examination of their cases by a council may remain at their posts: The city police, after a satisfactory investigation by a competent council of their ranking officers, may remain for the maintenance of order in Athens. The National Guard will undertake to keep order in the countryside. 4) Creation of a National Army by the recruiting of all volunteer formations: The call to military service of 3-4 draft classes. The army cadres must be cleared by competent councils. Thus, we shall see the termination of the crisis.

"Regarding the composition of the government we ask: The Premier must be a person enjoying the confidence of all. We request a 40-50% participation. As for the Ministries of the Interior and of Justice and the Under-secretaryships of War and Foreign Affairs, Siantos explained with irrefutable arguments why these Ministries should be given to the Left. Finally, Siantos proposed that the plebiscite be held on the first Sunday of February and that elections be held in April.

"Messrs. P. Rhallis, Theotokis and Tsaldaris withdrew, P. Rhallis stating that these proposals meant communizing the country.

"Plastiras declared that he would leave Greece, should the above demands

be accepted.

"Siantos: That is your affair. But I do not believe that would be a great misfortune.

"Mr. Maximos proposed holding a discussion on the demands, but Mr. Sofoulis protested.

"Siantos requested that it must be finally clarified whether the conference was going on the rocks or not. Mr. Sofoulis and the Archbishop declared that the discussion would be resumed following an exchange of views of the other parties on the proposals of the Left.

"It was finally decided to continue the conference on a day to be designated. Siantos declared to the Archbishop that the Left could not participate in the new discussion in the event Gonatas should be invited to it, adding that if the Left did not withdraw from this conference,* it was due to its sincere desire not to see the conference wrecked."

2) Representatives of EAM-ELAS asked Mr. Churchill to receive them in a private meeting. They believed that Mr. Churchill's views on Greek affairs were due to intentional falsifications on the part of persons who were giving him the relevant information. But Mr. Churchill did not wish to have a firsthand understanding of our views. We give below his answer to the request of our representatives:

Document Number 81.

"Dear Sirs:

I have received your request to meet privately with the two of you. Although personally, I would be ready to accept, I feel that this conference, being purely Greek in character, does not allow me to meddle in something which will appear as a negotiation separate from the conference, at the disposal of which I and my collaborator have placed ourselves.

"Allow me to add my fervent hope that the talks which have taken place and the contacts made will result in a speedy termination of the sad conflict between people of one and the same country."

Very truly yours,

Winston Churchill

3) After Mr. Churchill's refusal to receive our representatives, the Central Committee of the EAM addressed to him the following memorandum on December 28, 1944:

Document Number 82.

"Your Excellency:

"Upon the happy event of your arrival in Greece, the Greek people experienced a feeling of deepest relief, since they believed that your

* (Editor's note: Because of the presence of Gonatas)

presence here would surely contribute to terminating the tragic situation which exists in Greece between the Greeks and the British. On behalf of a considerable section of the Greek people, whom we represent, we expressed to you our thanks for your initiative in calling the Conference in order to find a way to end the Greek crisis.

"Unfortunately, although at the second meeting of the conference, on December 12, 1944, we proposed a more reasonable basis for an agreement, it became clear that the parleys were being prolonged due to the opportunistic policy of a section of the old political parties, who hope to prevail by forcible means, for which they are counting on British arms. These are the self-same persons who through their irreconcilable attitude, their evil suggestions, their distortion of the real aims of our cause, have entangled the British armies in Greece in a conflict against the Greeks. Today, they follow from a distance the tragedy of the Greek people, and they remain indifferent to the blood shed by British and Greeks, and are obstructing the solution of the crisis in their calculations, for partisan advantages. It is to be regretted that the faction of the Right wing is encouraged in its intransigence by the fact that while the political talks are going on, machine-gunning and bombarding of the neighborhoods, of the masses of the people and the war of the British armies against the Greek people continues. At the same time, the tragedy of starvation and bloodshed is reaching its climax.

"You will allow us to believe, Mr. Prime Minister, that nothing justifies prolonging hostilities, especially in view of the fact that the Left has accepted the basic points of Mr. Scobie's memorandum and that with its conciliatory proposals it facilitates greatly the finding of a solution for all pending questions. The ceasing of hostilities would create a proper atmosphere for an understanding, as it would oblige that faction of the Right, which is responsible for the crisis, to lower the flag of intransigency.

"The Greek people have not ceased for a moment to look with unshaken faith and deep gratitude to their great Allies, and especially, to Great Britain. Their fervent wish is that all forces be made available for the common struggle, for the crushing of Hitlerite Germany.

"Our immediate and sole effort is to end hostilities and to restore normalcy by securing the free and democratic development of the land in the interests of the Greek people, in accordance with the declared aims of the United Nations. More than anyone else, the Left wing desires to put an end at the earliest possible moment to this sad chapter in the history of Greek-British relations, and to see the traditional friendly relations between two friends and Allied peoples restored and made even stronger.

"We believe that your presence here and your great prestige as the leader of Great Britain will contribute to the speediest resolution of an inadmissible situation.

"Accept, Mr. Prime Minister, the expression of our most profound respect."

For the Central Committee of EAM,

D. Partsalides,
Secretary.

- 4) While the situation was at this point, Mr. Churchill departed suddenly after having made his well known statement to the press. In this statement he said that the Greeks are a society of people without moral fibre, that Greece should be placed under international trusteeship; that, as **long** as no agreement is made British arms will continue to fire, and that it is not his intention to leave his friends in Greece unprotected. It is clear that through these statements Mr. Churchill strengthened the reactionary Right in its irreconcilable attitude, for as long as the reaction insisted on not coming to an agreement, the British Forces would continue to strike, in which case the reaction would continue to hope that the democratic elements would be annihilated by British arms. We are quoting an excerpt from these statements:

Document Number 83.

".....Since we were involved in this case we undertook responsibilities. We displaced the mutineers from the principal section of the city. We have sufficient Armies, here and en route so that we shall be able to become absolute masters of the city of Athens and of the Attica region surrounding it. The sooner the other side comes to its senses, the sooner the battle will end.

"We are fully determined that this entire area shall be cleared of armed men:..... For this, we will use as many men as necessary, in order to achieve our objective.

"If no agreement results, our guns will continue to fire as they are doing now. Naturally, we expect that President Roosevelt, Marshal Stalin and I **shall** meet soon, together with our advisors, when we will re-examine the situation. For if you do not succeed in laying democratic foundations which are satisfactory and inspire confidence, it will probably be necessary that you be placed temporarily under international trusteeship of some form....."

(See newspapers ELLAS - Numbers 23-24)

The Central Committee of EAM asks that an Inter-Allied Commission be sent.

After the turn the situation took with Mr. Churchill's visit, and due to his attitude, the Central Committee of EAM addressed the following memorandum on December 30 to the Allied Governments:

Document Number 84.

"The development of the situation in our country obliges us to address our great Allies, to bring to their knowledge certain occurrences and to ask their assistance in certain concrete measures, which we have the honor to propose. In the conscience of every impartial observer, the Greek crisis, which took the form of a bloody and deplorable conflict between the Greek people and the British forces, would have been averted if there had been no intervention on the part of the British forces in Greece. The disagreement as to the simultaneous demobilization of the guerillas and the Mountain Brigade, a disagreement which brought about the crisis in the Government, would not have occurred, and no Government crisis would have been created since the Premier had agreed on simultaneous demobilization and had initialed the draft of the agreement. However, after the intervention of the British authorities in Greece, the Premier backed down, stating categorically that the British did not agree to the demobilization of the Mountain Brigade. Thus, the

question which had been solved arose again leading to the crisis in the Government.

"Later, when on December 5, the Premier was forced by popular disapproval to resign, and Mr. Sofoulis, the leader of the Liberals, undertook to form a new government, which, it was thought, would certainly end the crisis, it was announced on the morning of December 5 that the British would accept no change whatsoever in the person of the Premier and consequently rejected Mr. Papandreou's removal. In this way, Mr. Papandreou, who was responsible for the crisis in the Government and for the killing of unarmed citizens at the mass-meetings of December 3rd and 4th, although he had resigned, remained in power, due to the intervention of the British. Simultaneously, all power was given to Gen. Scobie, martial law was declared, the people of Athens-Piraeus were subjected to persecution and were once again forced to defend their liberties with arms.

"The two above events which led to a series of other violations, proved that the internal questions, which are the concern of the Greek people, would have been solved satisfactorily if the British authorities in Greece had not actively intervened in violation of established international customs and the declared aims of the United Nations. Thus, we reached the stage of the tragic armed conflict. Having been forced to enter into it, in defense of the Greek people's rights and liberties, we did not cease to hope for a settlement.

"Our answer to Mr. Scobie's terms, which were handed to us on December 12, was that we accepted even the most important term, that of withdrawing the ELAS from Athens to a line named by General Scobie. We also accepted Mr. Scobie's demand, relating to the disarming of those called supporters of the ELAS, but proposed as the only practical way of enforcing same, that the disarming be done by the Greek Government which was to be formed. No other difference existed between Mr. Scobie's terms and our recommendations, for it is clear that our insistence on the simultaneous withdrawing from Athens of the Mountain Brigade and on the simultaneous disarming of the fascist and traitorous elements - (members of the Quisling Security Battalions, members of traitor organizations, men of the Gendarmerie, etc.) - all of whom had been secretly armed by the reactionary Right - were in perfect accord with the spirit of General Scobie's terms, a spirit which, it is assumed, was and ought to create conditions for the establishment of a substantial peace, and not of surrendering a heroically fighting, freedom loving people to the revengeful fury of the Fifth Column and the fascist gangs and while after the substantial acceptance of General Scobie's terms, we were expecting a cessation of the unjust and cruel attack, the British Prime Minister and his Minister of Foreign Affairs arrived in Athens. The entire Greek people greeted their arrival as an event which would surely bring about peace, especially in view of the above stated fact that there were no substantial differences on the military question, and consequently, nothing justified the bloody **attacks** of the British Air Force, British Artillery and British tanks against the unarmed population of Athens-Piraeus.

"But, instead of a cessation of hostilities, as the people had rightly expected, and instead of reaching an agreement on the military issue so that the question of the Government could be taken up in a relatively calm atmosphere, the attacks on Christmas Day, - the day when the two famous Englishmen arrived and thereafter, were intensified. We had received an invitation not to reach a final solution on the Military question, but to discuss the political question with political leaders, the military issue having been side-stepped.

"The conference took place. But, instead of facilitating an understanding, by trying to restrict the activities of those who would revert to dictatorship, i.e. the Right wing, it was, on the contrary, officially announced on behalf of the British Prime Minister that, if no understanding is reached at the conference, the British Army would use all war means at its disposal to clear the Capital and the Attica region of their defenders. (The people of Athens-Piraeus had already had a bitter experience with these war means which they had faced in a proud, patriotically dignified and unimaginably heroic manner.)

"From the moment the question was thus presented it became impossible to obtain an agreement. It was clear that the reactionary Right, which had provoked the conflict between Allies, having ensured the continuation of armed intervention, would display an unyielding intransigence. Our conciliatory proposals were:

- "1) A government program basically similar to the previous government's program (punishment of collaborationist quislings, purging the state machinery of elements which had collaborated with the conqueror or supported the fascist dictatorship of August 4th, creation of a national army through military conscription, etc.).
- "2) General simultaneous demobilization of all volunteer military formations, including the Mountain Brigade and the Sacred Battalion.
- "3) Formation of a government of national unity under a premier who enjoys general confidence.
- "4) Proportionate participation in the Government on a 40-50 percent basis, not substantially higher than the proportion of our participation in the previous National Unity Government.
- "5) The assignment to our side of the ministries of the Interior and of Justice, and of the sub-ministries of Foreign Affairs and War, so that in view of the intentions and the bankruptcy of the reactionary Right, a democratic solution of our internal affairs might be ensured.
- "6) The setting of an early date for the plebiscite and the elections.
- "7) The naming of an Inter-Allied Commission to see to it that a genuine plebiscite and elections be held.

"The other political leaders' answer to the above proposals was a policy of postponement and protraction of the question, the withdrawal of a section from the conference, the refusal of others to discuss the proposals and innumerable reservations. The British Prime Minister, together with Mr. Eden departed after repeating the assurance - to make it fully clear - that 'Our guns will continue to fire as they are doing now.' In fact, British guns, for the sake of supporting more fully the irreconcilables of the Right had begun firing immediately at the unarmed people, drowning out the bells of the churches of Athens which had been ringing to celebrate the arrival of the British official personalities. In our opinion a statement by the British officials to the effect that the armed intervention of the British forces would **stop** if no conciliatory solution guaranteeing a normal democratic development could be found would have been sufficient to bring the representatives of the Right to their senses and a basis for agreement would

have been found on the same day. Unfortunately, again, and it is with profound sorrow that we have ascertained this - British intervention contributed, not to the abatement but to an aggravation of the situation, to an intensification of the bloody conflict and the attacks against **the** people.

"We are obliged to express to you the bitterness and the disillusionment experienced by the Greek people, who for years have struggled hard for their liberties and for the aims of the Allied cause, at this new failure of our efforts to achieve peace for the country. Moreover we are obliged to protest because those forces which conducted the Allied fight in Greece and offered so many services to the Allies are considered enemies, and are again to be subdued by guns - British guns this time.

"However, looking forward again to making peace, not to mutual slaughter, we propose to you that an Inter-Allied Commission come immediately to Greece - a commission composed of representatives of Great Britain, of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of the United States of America, and of the French Republic, in order to study the situation on the spot and aid, by bringing hostilities to an immediate end, in the ensuring of a normal development of our political affairs, in accord with the people's will and in order to supervise the conducting of the plebiscite and of the Constituent Assembly Elections so that the people's sentiment may be genuinely expressed.

"As for us, who we waging a struggle which we did not desire but which was imposed on us, a struggle, which on our side aims at the maintenance of the very ideals of the war of the United Nations (of Liberty, Democracy, Independence of Peoples), we desire only to attain a speedy solution of the crisis so that all the forces of our Nation may be made available in the common fight for the final crushing of Hitlerism.

"Ardently hoping that our proposal for the arrival in Greece of an Inter-Allied Commission - a hope which represents the wish of all **Greeks** - will be favorably received, we declare that we will support such a Commission with all our power in the accomplishment of its task.

"We are appealing to our great Allies not to permit an Allied people, which has offered and is offering everything for the common cause, to suffer total destruction by Allied arms.

"Accept the expression of our most profound respect."

For the Central Committee of the EAM

The Secretary,
D. Partsalides

XII

THE REGENCY

The Institution of the Regency was put into effect after a persistent and bloody struggle of the Greek people, although, since the King was abroad, it should have been established earlier, as plainly provided by the Constitution. The appointment of the Regent was made without even asking the forces of the EAM; and the Regent assigned the forming of a government to General Plastiras, a declared enemy of the EAM, and well-known to the entire people since the revolts of 1922 and 1933 for his contempt of popular

liberties.

The Central Committee of the EAM addressed on January 3, 1945, the following memorandum to the Regent:

Document Number 85.

"In your first message to the Greek people you declared officially the necessity of restoring the authority of the State without delay and of immediately terminating the fratricidal bloodshed.

"In order to meet the necessity, and so that the firing may cease immediately, in our memorandum of January 1st, we invoked your immediate action and we asked that, by using your rights as the highest Executive you withdraw the authorization given by the former Premier to General Scobie for the attack against the people.

"On the same day, January 1st, we confirmed orally, through our delegates who called on General Scobie, the two communications of the Central Committee of the ELAS, dated December 14th and 18th, respectively, in which the committee accepts the basic conditions regarding withdrawal of ELAS from Athena-Piraeus and the disarming of the ELAS' supporters and the simultaneous settling of the status of the rival side (Mountain Brigade, National Guard).

"With reference to these forces, it is known that the National Guard was composed of various collaborationist groups (members of "X" organizations, of the Bouradas, etc.), and that the disarming of the Gendarmerie had been decided upon by the previous government. General Scobie, despite the fact that his basic conditions had been accepted, and, despite the fact that those units are fighting, under his orders, against the Athenian people, nevertheless, excused himself by saying that the determining of their status is a political matter.

"Thus, he continues to annihilate every day hundreds of non-combatant citizens and to destroy entire neighborhoods in violation not only of established international customs, but of every divine and human law as well.

"Your Grace, since the matter of the immediate cessation of hostilities comes under your exclusive jurisdiction as the highest executive, we beg you to extend an invitation to our delegation and that you confer with it regarding a solution to terminate this bloody war.

"Your Grace, in this dramatic moment of our Greek history, the Greek people are sacrificing everything in order to insure the independence of their country and the democratic liberties.

"Consequently, the people demand that every patriot and, even more, every political figure, assume fully his responsibilities and that he perform his duty to the nation and for the future of the country.

"In the conviction that you will heed the voice of the nation, we remain"

Respectfully

For the Central Committee of the EAM
Mitsos Partsalides,
Secretary

But all our yielding proved in vain. General Scobie's communique announced to the entire world with unheard of heartlessness that thousands of shells were falling daily upon the poor neighborhoods of Athens. The victims of the non-combatant population are over ten thousand. In order to save the non-combatant population from the fury of British Arms, the Central Committee of the ELAS ordered the forces of ELAS, which were scoring victories up to the last moment to reform their lines outside of Athens.

This communique read:

Document Number 86.

"The Defenders of Athens and Piraeus, and their unconquerable peoples, fighting with incomparable heroism and a sacred passion, characteristic of fighters for Liberty, Democracy, and Independence, have revived and brightened with new superb accomplishments the most beautiful pages of our National History: Messolonghi, Arkadi, the epic in Albania and the epic of National Resistance.

"For over one month, they held the immortal front of Athens and Piraeus in the face of the incomparably superior means of the opponent. But, the enemy, being unable to hit our military forces, turned with revengeful fury against the non-combatants. With thousands of missiles, Mr. Churchill's ships, airplanes, cannons and tanks, are daily causing the death of women, children and old people and are leveling the poor sections of the two cities.

"Entire neighborhoods, factories, homes of the poor and hospitals have been reduced to dust. Mr. Scobie's aim is to change Athens - the city which all conquerors and invaders have respected - into a heap of ruins, into a vast cemetery.

"In the face of Mr. Scobie's brutal fury of invasion, the Central Committee of ELAS, in order to save the non-combatants from certain death caused by bombs and machine guns, and, furthermore, in order to protect Athens and the Piraeus from certain destruction, have ordered the shortening of the lines of the heroic defenders of the Capital and Piraeus.

"This re-forming of our lines (outside of Athens), is not a victory for Mr. Scobie. It is something worse than a Pyrrhic victory. It is an indelible stigma and an eternal disgrace, because only Scobie used the Sacred Rock of the Acropolis as a shield for a war of annihilation.

"Take up arms, Citizens! The struggle continues. It will be conducted with even greater intensity. Athens and the Piraeus are unconquerable, unenslavable. Greece shall remain free! Victory is ours! Every one and everything for the crushing of Greek fascism; For Liberty, for Democracy, for the Independence of the Country! For civilization and the future of Greece!"

The Central Committee of ELAS

E. Mantakas

M. Hadjimihales

G. Siantos

CHAPTER VI

The Armistice

I

THE ARMISTICE TERMS

On the 11th of January, 1945, an Armistice was signed between the British forces and the ELAS. The text of the agreement follows:

Document Number 87.

Terms of agreement between the High Command of the Land Forces and of Military Liaison Officers in Greece on one hand, and the Central Committee of ELAS on the other hand.

Between the undersigned, Lieutenant General Ronald Scobie, Commander-in-Chief of the Land Forces and Military Liaison Officers in Greece, and Messrs. Zevgos . Partsalides, and the Majors of ELAS - Macrides and Athinellis, on behalf of the Central Committee of ELAS, an agreement was reached on the following:

- 1) That for the purpose of conducting parleys between the Greek Government and representatives of the ELAS-EAM for the adjustment of unsettled questions, hostilities cease at 00.01 o'clock on January 14, 1945.
- 2) The forces of ELAS which are to the east and to the south of the general line - Itea - Amfissa - Lamia - Domokos - Farsala and thence Eastward alongside the road toward Ampelia and thence along the road or pathway of Velestino - Kanalia - Acroterion - Kavos - Koutsoumbos, - will withdraw and will remain south or north of this line, a line which is defined in greater detail in the supplementary Map so that the above road may be used without difficulties. They (the above-named forces of the ELAS) will evacuate all cities and villages mentioned in this article.

Such a retirement and evacuation will end by 00.01 o'clock of January 18, 1945.

The ELAS farces, which are at present in the area surrounding Salonika, which is defined in Supplement 2 and in the Map in Supplement 3, will withdraw and will remain in this area, after having evacuated Salonika.

The withdrawal and evacuation will end by 00.01 o'clock of January 17, 1945.

- 3) a) All members of the ELAS' forces whose usual location is outside of Peloponnesus but who are located there, will withdraw from there. Also all members of the ELAS forces whose usual location is outside of Peloponnesus and who at present are located outside of it, will withdraw there, and will then be subject to the regulations of Article 5. The representatives of the ELAS' Central Committee, who have signed this, will notify the Commander-in-Chief immediately after this is signed, regarding the strength and the position of such members and as to the method and the roads through which the retirement will be effected, under supervision of the British Authorities.

- 4) a) All forces of ELAS on the islands of Corfu, Euboea, and Cythera, and in the Cyclades and Sporades islands, will withdraw. The above mentioned representatives will notify the Commander-In-Chief, immediately after the present is signed, regarding the strength and position of such forces and the method and the roads through which they shall withdraw.
 - b) Personnel and forces withdrawing in accordance with the stipulations of the present article shall leave the area within the line described in article 2 of the present agreement, and shall remain south and north of this line.
 - c) Such evacuation will end by 00.01 o'clock of January 24k, 1945.
- 5) All members of ELAS, who are usually located within Peloponnesus and who are there at present, will retire to the south of the line from Pyrgos to Argos, which is defined in more detail in supplement 4 and in supplement 5.

Such a withdrawal will be carried out by 00.01 o'clock of January 19, 1945.

- 6) The following arrangements are made regarding prisoners:
 - a) The entire service personnel of any nationality, including the Greek Police and Gendarmerie, arrested by the ELAS, will be returned. This will include all Greek personnel arrested by the ELAS, while it was armed. This will not include citizens held by the Citizen's Militia of EAM.
 - b) A number of prisoners equal to that of the ELAS prisoners will be freed by the British in exchange.
 - c) In estimating the number of prisoners for exchange as provided in paragraphs a) and b) of the relevant article the number of seriously wounded will not be taken into consideration; such wounded will be returned immediately regardless of the number of prisoners for exchange.
 - d) All arrested British citizens will be returned regardless of the identity of those captured, to the place where they were arrested or the locality in which they are at present.
 - e) The proceeding stipulation will be fulfilled on time and in accordance with instructions to be issued by the Commander-in-Chief.
 - f) Any failure on the part of ELAS to fulfill the terms of this agreement, any attack whatsoever in any part of Greece against any armies of Britain, her possessions or India, or against the service personnel, or against any Greek Police and Gendarmerie forces shall be considered a violation of this truce.

The present agreement was made in a double original, one in English and the other in Greek.

Signed in Athens, on January 11, 1945, 22-30 B. Hour

Ronald Scobie

In behalf of the Central Committee of the ELAS

Zevgos, Partsalides, Macrides, Athinellis.

II

THE PRISONERS

(1) During the war days, a proposal was made by Mr. Scobie for the exchange of prisoners. From the terms he proposed (see Document No. 89) it is clearly seen that the British had arrested even women and children as forces of ELAS. No agreement was made under these terms.

We cite the documents:

Document Number 86.

HEADQUARTERS OF LAND FORCES AND MILITARY LIAISON FORCES IN GREECE.
CENTRAL MEDITERRANEAN FORCES

December 30, 1945, Memorandum to the Central Committee of ELAS.

Copy to the Military Commander of Attica.

"Out of humanitarian considerations and due to the present state of hostilities, the Commander-in-Chief proposes that an exchange of prisoners be made between his Command and that of ELAS, according to the truce arranged for this purpose,

"The Commander-In-Chief believing that he holds as prisoners a number of ELAS members larger than the ELAS has captured from the British forces, leaves to the choice of ELAS, to name, if it accepts his proposals, the number of British whom it is disposed to exchange. However, the Commander-In-Chief feels obliged to request that the exchange of the seriously wounded, regardless of number, be considered compulsory.

"Regarding the exact place for the exchange, the following places are proposed, subject to choice: either that the exchange take place at a 'point agreed upon' in the Athens area; or that British vehicles and drivers, carrying the truce flag, go to any meeting place outside the city named by ELAS, bringing in the rear prisoners, who will be taken to the exchange place in the city; or that the prisoners of ELAS be taken in vehicles carrying the flag of truce to any point agreed upon outside the city where the exchange will take place, the British vehicles being allowed to return to their lines under the flag of the armistice.

The attached draft of the agreement for carrying out the exchange is placed before you for consideration. The Central Committee of ELAS is requested to send a representative to these Headquarters, to propose any modifications which it wishes to make of this draft, and with full authority to accept and sign the agreement."

The Brigadier-General of the General Staff

Supplement "A" of the Agreement of December 31, 1944

Document Number 89.

Agreement on the Exchange of Prisoners:

"We the undersigned agree:

- 1) That the exchange of prisoners take place on January 4 at..... under the truce, the terms of which are stated in the Agreement, dated December 31, 1944, to which the present agreement is attached.
- 2) That for every British prisoner, a prisoner of ELAS, irrespective of sex, be exchanged except children under 12 years and those seriously wounded who will be returned regardless of their number.
- 3) That the following priorities be observed in the selection of prisoners to be exchanged.
 - a) British war prisoners held by ELAS.

I Sick and wounded (except seriously wounded).
II Navy, Army and Aviation personnel 1: 6: 5»
III Greek Armies, the National Guard included.
IV British citizens.
 - b) ELAS war prisoners held by the British as proposed by ELAS.
- 4) That the term 'prisoner' in the present agreement and in the attached agreement, is understood to include:
 - a) Navy, Army and Aviation personnel of both sides and of any nationality which was arrested by one side or the other during the present hostilities, i.e. since December 3, 1944.
 - b) British citizens except those hold by ELAS.
 - c) Individuals in civilian clothes arrested by the British armies and held as war prisoners.
 - d) Children of any of the above who, together with their parents, are held captive.
- 5) That the number of exchange prisoners from either side will be....

The present agreement was prepared in two originals, one text in English and the other in Greek.

Signed in Athens

For the Central Committee of EAM. For the Commander-in-Chief of the Land Forces and the Liaison Officer in Greece.

Date..... 1945

(2) The agreement for the exchange of prisoners was signed on January 20. The Agreement is as follows:

Document Number 90.

Resume of arrangements for the exchange of war prisoners between

representatives of the Commander-in-Chief of the Land Forces and the Military Liaison in Greece, and the Central Committee of ELAS, made in Athens on January 20, 1945, in accordance with the armistice terms, signed in Athens on January 11, 1945.

Representative of the Commander-in-Chief: Brigadier E. G. Auntland.

Representatives of the Central Committee of ELAS: Mr. Andreas Tjimas.

Mr. Costas Demakes.....

b) The British will convoy the requests of ELAS to the International Red Cross concerning the following:

1. The International Red Cross should visit all wounded ELAS adherents in the hospitals and ascertain whether they are treated well, should prepare a list of names of all these prisoners and give said list to ELAS and it should see to it, so far as possible, that these persons are properly treated and that they are protected by the Greek Authorities after their discharge from the Hospital.

2. The International Red Cross should visit regularly all the Greek prisons and Police Stations and should see that all prisoners who are supporters of ELAS are treated properly, justly and humanely.

c) Whenever prisoners are released from either **side**, there will be issued lists giving the names of prisoners.

These lists will be signed by the representatives of the British as well as those of ELAS.

d) The British will give to the International Red Cross as soon as possible, lists of names of all ELAS prisoners detained by the British in behalf of the Greek Government.

4. ELAS, agreed that it will dispatch to the British, at the earliest possible time, the lists of names of all forces of Greek police, of the Gendarmerie or of other armed Greek personnel arrested by ELAS, who, according to article 6 (a) of the armistice conditions, must also be exchanged. On receipt of this information, places and dates for the exchange will be arranged. The delay regarding these Greek prisoners is due to the fact that the **ELAS representatives** are not yet in position to state the number and the place where these persons are held, since they are not held principally in one place as in the case of the British prisoners.....

Athens, January 20, 1945.

Signature of Auntland, Brigadier-General

(3) In carrying out the above agreement, an exchange of prisoners took place in Volos. The British surrendered in exchange persona who could not possibly, be ELAS' soldiers. For this and other violations, the representatives of ELAS presented the following objections:

Document Number 91.

Supplementary report of complaints made by the Central Committee of ELAS

on January 25, 1945.

"1. Some of the exchanged ELAS prisoners were civilians. It was easy for anyone to see that they were civilians since they were too old to serve in the ELAS Army. One of these was insane.

"2. The exchange of officers according to rank was not made in accordance with the Agreement, as for instance in the case of General Kalabalikis, Major Papazisis, Major Ioannis Lazarides.

"3. These officers are still held prisoners.

The prisoners were told to leave all their personal belongings with the authorities in the War Prisoners' Camp at Athens.

Every prisoner was given a receipt, and the International Red Cross received four copies of this receipt. These personal belongings were not returned.

"4. The prisoners were not fed adequately, either in the War Prisoners' Camp in Athens or during their transportation to Volos.

"5. It is requested that the list of names of the 12,000 ELAS prisoners be given to the International Red Cross in Athens."

Central Committee of ELAS: A. Tjimas
K. Dimakes

(illegible Signature of a British officer)

(4) The following correspondence on this matter was exchanged between the Central Committee of ELAS and General Scobie:

Document Number 92.

E.L.A.S.

Bureau of the General Staff II - File Number 1322.

Lieutenant-General Scobie, care of British Brigade in Volos

"Beginning stop on January 25 were surrendered to our representatives in Volos 57 Officers and 943 soldiers ELAS in return for 60 British Officers and 950 non-commissioned officers and privates stop Consequently the number of exchangeable ELAS members met be completed stop Also we note no ELAS officers of equal rank with British were surrendered and we know that there are officers of such and higher ranks. On the other hand, among those surrendered to us are included unarmed, non-combatant citizens and non-combatant ELAS adherents stop As example we mention that two 72 year old men and an insane person were among prisoners surrendered to us stop Those soldiers returned to us are in bad shape. We request you order rectification of above unfortunate instances stop We have given due orders regarding exchange remaining prisoners stop"

Central Committee of ELAS

E. Mantakas, M. Hadjimihalis, G. Siantos

Document Number 93.

No. 998.

Lieutenant-General Scobie to the Central Committee of ELAS

"We suppose some error was made in transmitting your telegram because one thousand officers and men were surrendered to your representative in Volos, who gave receipt for the number and names of persons included in this list. Regarding the ranks, I am referring you to the terms of the January 20th agreement (Paragraph 2....a): Every individual who admitted that he was an officer of ELAS was surrendered, but inasmuch as your soldiers did not wear a military uniform at the time they were captured, ascertaining their identity through distinctive signs of rank is not possible. The representatives of the International Red Cross, who were acting in behalf of both sides, checked on every person in Volos before the exchange and made sure that they saw neither old men nor insane people among those surrendered. Also they report that no such protests were made by your representative before they signed receipts. I wish also to emphasize that at the time Tjimas Andreas and Costas Dimakes signed the agreement of January 20th, they testified that there were only 963 British prisoners for exchange in Volos, and since then, despite the fact that one thousand ELAS persons were sent there, ten mere must be surrendered to you, also, 71 for the British who had been surrendered near Lamia.

"I am expecting an answer to my telegram 961 of January 26, in which I ask you where you wish the remaining 81 to be surrendered to you as no ship is due to sail in the immediate future for Volos. I propose that the exchange be made in Lamia.

"Please notify us at the earliest possible time in order that arrangements may be made."

Document Number 94.

Central Committee of ELAS
Staff of Officer II
File No. 1366

To Lieutenant General Scobie, care of British Brigade, Volos.

"Beginning stop Your telegram A 968 received stop We admit difficulties check on rank ELAS officers stop For just this reason we believe you will admit errors were committed. After the signing of protocol on both sides regarding exchanged prisoners British Brigade at Volos ascertained surrendered British officers were not sixty but only fifty-seven stop British non-commissioned officers and privates were nine hundred fifty-three and not nine hundred fifty stop On the other hand it was subsequently proved that the number of surrendered ELAS' officers was only forty-three, not fifty-seven stop

"The remaining who surrendered as ELAS adherents were nine hundred fifty-six not nine-hundred forty-three stop

"Consequently if you have no objection we request you surrender to us thirteen ELAS officers stop

"We are counting the three additional officers in second delivery of British officers stop Furthermore we assure you among those surrendered in Volos as ELAS adherents many were non-combatant civilians stop And it is true that old men and one insane person were among them stop

"Our representatives submitted a relevant memorandum to British Brigadier General in Volos on January 25th who countersigned it stop We do not know why he did not mention it to you stop As we have not yet received list of all ELAS adherents held as prisoners we do not know names of all officers still held as prisoners stop For this we beg you to order that special care be taken hereafter to surrender real ELAS officers stop We mention an example stop Among ELAS prisoners there should be Major General Kalabalikes stop Majors Papazisis Michael stop Lazarides John stop Pappadakes Stylianos stop We request their inclusion in the list of exchangeables and their surrender in Lamia stop Remaining exchangeables are seventy-five ELAS officers and privates stop We beg that they be surrendered in Amphissa stop Thanks in advance stop Finis stop "

Central Committee of ELAS

E. M. Mantakas, M. Hadjimihalis

(5) After examining the persons who were returned as prisoners, an officer of the ELAS' General Staff submitted the following report:

Document Number 95.

E.D..... of General Staff January 31, 1945

Through your Order, National Citizen's Guard, 597 of January 1, 1945, I was assigned the task of visiting our fellow combatants who were returned to us by the English in Volos and of investigating their living conditions during their capture.

In carrying out the above order, I have the honor to report to you that unfortunately the time limit did not permit me to make a systematic and detailed investigation, because on the evening of January 27th when I arrived in Larissa, nearly all civilians and members of the political organizations and parties as well as all fellow combatants of the National Citizen's Guard and a large part of the reserve forces of ELAS, who were exchanged for English prisoners, had left for their respective home towns or for other places and I succeeded in gathering only a very few facts about them. Through the fellow combatants of ELAS whom I found in Larissa in a village near Larissa, I secured a sufficient number of facts, in spite of having at my disposal only two to three hours to talk to these persons as they, too, left for their units at noon of January 28th. With these facts as my basis, I prepared the following report, exerting every effort to avoid my inaccuracy or exaggeration:

As is known the following British prisoners were surrendered in Volos: 57 officers, i.e. 4 Lieutenant-Colonels, 7 Majors, 21 Captains, 22 First Lieutenants, 3 Second Lieutenants, and 953 privates and non-commissioned officers (including a number of adjutants), a total of 1010. In exchange for the above British war prisoners, they gave us in Volos 1000 fellow-combatants and I think they will give us 10 more. These 1000 are as follows: 44 Officers, i.e. 1 Major, 6 Captains, 8 First lieutenants, 28 Second Lieutenants and one adjutant. Of the remaining 956, 482 belong to the active

ELAS, 136 to the reserve ELAS forces of Athens, 40 to the National Citizen's Militia and the other 298 are private citizens or men who belonged to the EAM organizations or parties. At this point, it should be noted that not all the 482 of the active ELAS belong to the ELAS sections which took part in the battle of Athens. Many of these are fellow-combatants of the active ELAS, wounded and invalids in the Athens hospitals who were being treated for wounds they suffered before the conflict in the battles against the Germans. Thus, fellow-combatant K. Karousos of 2/39 who had been under treatment at the Aretaion since the tenth of November 1944 for a wound he suffered in the battle of Chrysos in the fall of 1942; fellow-combatant Vourvis Dionysios who suffered 27 wounds in the battle of Pyrgos Elias, who lost both eyes and was under treatment in the 1st General Hospital; fellow-combatant "Tarzan" of the 5th independent battalion, an electrician from the Piraeus, who was wounded in a battle against the Germans and was under treatment at the Red Cross; fellow-combatant Sergeant Anestakis Kosmas, who was under treatment at the Military Hospital; second Lieutenant Evangelos Zelos of the 2/39 Regiment who was under treatment at the Hippocraton and others regarding whom I was not able to get the facts were among the exchanged prisoners. Included in the 298 private citizens, some belonging to organizations, some not, are a number of those wounded at the Albanian front who were under treatment at the Hospitals of Athens - crippled, consumptives removed from the Soteria, and even an insane person. Unfortunately, they had left Larissa when I went there and thus I did not get the facts about them.

The stories and reports of fellow-combatants concerning their experiences, lead one to the conclusion that something similar but on a much larger scale applies to those who are still held in camps. In the Camp of Goudi, so fellow-combatant K. Athanasiou testifies, that among the 2600 detained persons, about 600 only were of the ELAS, The other 2000 were civilians among whom were 500 minors: 16-15-14-13 year old ones and even younger. Fellow combatant Panayiotis Kanakles, Chief Captain, testifies that in Hassani there were invalids of the Albanian (Greek-Italian) war or of battles of the ELAS against Germans, who were under treatment in various hospitals of Athens - consumptives, insane persons, young people and even ten-year old children, ordinary women, etc., K. Karousos from Agrinion of the 2/39 testified as follows: "Invalids with old and open wounds, with mutilated faces, with mutilated hands, one-eyed ones, etc. were seized and were considered captives." The Lieutenant of the Medical Corps of the Regiment, fellow-combatant Emilios Macris says: "They brought into the camps and held there as prisoners, consumptives, insane people, epileptics suffering from daily attacks, invalids of the Albanian front with mutilated limbs, old people, 13 or 14-year-old children, and old wounded of the ELAS." Fellow fighter D. Kaliris of the 6th Regiment, from Zevgolatio of Corinth, estimates that in the Helloniko Camp, among the 1800 detained persons only 500 were of the ELAS. The others were civilians, many of whom probably belong to organizations but many of whom were not organized. Anestakes Cosmos, Sergeant of the 36th Regiment, testifies that from "the 1st General Hospital alone, 88 ELAS men wounded in battles against the Germans were removed and interned in the Camp of Goudi." Evangelos Zelos, Second Lieutenant, of the 2/39 testifies: "They took 20 wounded ELAS men, together with nurses from the Hippocraton Hospital and took them to the Camp of Goudi." Fellow-fighters Haikalis and Salakas, Officers of the 13th Army Division, testify: "In the factory of Vika in Callithea, where they held us, besides others they also detained mothers with their nursing babies, a deaf mute with an amputated hand, wounded on the Albanian front with amputated feet, while at Camp Helliniko they held about 150 wounded of the ELAS who had been struck by German bullets in battles against the Invader." Fellow-combatant G.

Theodorakes of the 2/34th testifies: "Doctors and nurses from the Hospitals in Voula, who were taken along with sick persons, are held in the Camp of Hasaniou. Among the 2500 held, only 600 are of the ELAS. Even a number of persons from the Right who were arrested by mistake are there. From 6 to 7 spies of the Partheniou group are in the same camp - held there as stooges. Two of the Panteloglou OEDE group and others from the Special Security are there, whose mission is to spy on us and to prevent any activity or protest aiming at the betterment of our lot." Sergeant Anastakis Cosmas testifies: "Certain members of the Security Battalions who were arrested by mistake, protested to Major Morfi, of the Special Security. He replied to them that the English had made a mistake, and he immediately reported to the English officer that these belonged to the Rhallis Battalions, whereupon they were freed." Fellow-fighter K. Athanasiou testifies that a royalist lawyer from Thebes is also held at the Camp. The lawyer protests continuously stressing that never in his life has he stomached the idea of the Left but that he sees now that the Communists were right. Fellow-fighter Georgiades, First Lieutenant of the 13th Division says in his report: "Over 150 women were brought to Hasani, some because their husbands were in the ELAS, and others on no particular charge. Fifteen prostitutes are in this group." And he continued: "The women stayed only 10 days in Hasani, but this period of time was enough for the English to show their baseness. Taking advantage of their helplessness and using a few biscuits as their extortionistic bait, they would attack a few of the women in front of the others, and at night they ran around their tents as if they were obsessed. Women who managed to escape ran to us weeping. We protested and they were removed. I don't know what's become of them." According to the testimony of many, also among those detained in this camp, are the following: I. Cardatos; Them. Kornaros; N. Kastrinos and his son Alexander; Varvoglis Marios, composer; Takis Mouzenides, stage director of the National Theatre; Panselinos Asinakes; E. Kjamouranes, journalist; Nicolaides, lawyer; Christos Christes; Georgoulakis, physician; D. Veziroglou, tuberculosis specialist; Enghelides, physician; the son and wife of Colonel A. Papathanasiou; Judges, Justices of the Peace, honest policemen, many other scientists, intellectuals, priests, etc.

All the above is understood if one takes into consideration that the local fascists and the English throw themselves against the people with unprecedented rage. They arrested, of course, a few ELAS people, but they filled the camps, police stations and all the dungeons with old people, women, children, the sick, invalids and citizens of all classes. At the same time they branded all these people as ELAS prisoners, so as to show on the one hand that they caught thousands of guerillas of ELAS and to hide the shame of the mass arrests of the other.

Now let us come to the chapter on the treatment of prisoners.

Nearly all those examined charge that they were beaten by the English and the tools of the pseudo-government in Athens. They were beaten especially at the time when they were seized and when they were transported from one detention place to another, from one police station to another, and from camp to camp, and the evil continued in the camp; I saw three fellow-fighters, each one with a broken tooth - broken by the fist blows of the English, Another one had three of his teeth broken. The head wounds of second Lieutenant Haikalis can still be seen. It was caused by the butt of a gun. Fellow-fighter Ath. Billios was savagely beaten by the English because he would not let them remove his military boots, and on the 17th of January 1945, he was again beaten because he went to drink water. Also fellow-fighter K. Hadjitheodorou from Halkis was beaten by members of the National Guard

because he would not let them remove his military boots. Captain Panay Kanakles testifies that in the first days in Camp Goudi they were the object of daily fist-blows, kickings, blows with the butt of a gun, all this being inflicted on them by Gendarmes in the presence of the English, The answer to each of their protests in Camp Helliniko was fierce beatings, according to the testimony of follow-fighters K. Karousos, a native of Agrinion, and a member of the 2/39th Regiment. Lieutenant of the Medical Corps Emilios Macris says that the English seized Doctor Xenides from Larissa and a member at the 34th Regiment. They removed his clothes completely and beat him to such a point that he was speechless for three whole days. Fellow-fighter P. Margaritos, second Lieutenant of the 7th Regiment were stripped naked and beaten by the English for six consecutive hours. He was treated this way for having put up a seven-hour defense of Achilles and Salamis Square. A woman who threw an old overcoat to him so that he could cover himself was arrested by the English, was beaten and thrown into prison. Fellow-fighter D. Vourvis, the blind, wounded veteran of ELAS, was first beaten by the English and then by the Bouradases, (quisling gendarmes) in the 3rd Police Station. Fellow-fighter Bas. Diplos was taken prisoner on January 3, 1945 in Metaxourghio and after nearly everything that he had with him had been taken away he was beaten so severely that he fell unconscious. He was then carried away and was turned over to the National Guardsmen, who, after taking whatever was left on him, even his shirt, beat him with the butts of their guns. Sergeant Anestakos Cosmas testifies that they removed from the First General Military Hospital the nurse Harikleia and the wounded guerillas of ELAS, Sergeant Taxiarchis Trika, I. Tsahris, Antonios Kratzas and two others whom he does not know, took them to the old Palace and from there brought them back again, their faces and bodies all black from the beatings, and finally sent them to Goudi. The English seized at Mazi, fellow-fighter Dr. Al. Pouloupoulos, of the 11th Regiment. They took all his instruments and first-aid medicine, and beat him mercilessly with a German hand-grenade. Using a knife, first they cut the hair of fellow-fighter Yianni Alexopoulos and then slashed his head. Fellow-fighter Theodore Troupakis of the 11th Regiment was seized by the English in Mazi. He was struck savagely in the chest and suffered a fracture of the chest. Fellow-fighter George Varnakiotis from Mytika, Halkis, was seized on January 5, 1945 in Colonos. The English beat him furiously until he became swollen and lost his hearing. Further, A. Beys, 2nd Lieutenant of the Mountain Brigade tried to pull out Varnakiotis' teeth with pincers and cut his lip. The same victim was taken together with two others, to be executed but was saved at the last moment through the intervention of an Englishman. A. Papavasiliou, Co. 7, 7th Regiment, from New Artaki, Halkis, was arrested on January 1, 1945, in Megalou Alexandrou Street. Using the butts of their guns the English beat him savagely saying "You Communist". Then he was taken to the 3rd Police Station where according to Gestapo methods they made him face the wall with his hands up and beat him while others behind him were opening and shutting the breeches of their rifles. In the 11th Police Station the Chief Guard, George Holevas, beat fellow-fighter Evangelos Vakalis of the 4th Regiment and Colonel Ph. Vaklis until they bled, and struck them across their knees and legs with clubs. They turned them over then to Security battalionist, now wearing the uniform of the National Guard, in Callithea where they mocked them in front of the English, then put them in stocks and paraded them stripped of their clothing except for shorts, calling them Bulgarians. After this, these victims were turned over to the English who beat them, in their turn, with the butts of their guns, took away their watches and any other valuables they had and finally sent the Colonel to Tobrouk. Second Lieutenants Haikalis and Safakas testify: "We were arrested at the Old Age Home and after our surrender the English started firing with their automatics, killing one old man. They took away from us whatever

valuables we carried, they called us Bulgarians, Germans, traitors, and beat us mercilessly. - English and Gendarmes like brothers together, - with kicks, the butts of guns, with revolvers and bayonets. They cracked quite a few heads including that of second Lieutenant Haikalis and with bayonets pierced the hands and feet of many. They even tried to incite the people to lynch us, saying that we had killed a five-year old boy, who, in reality, was killed by the English themselves." They behaved in a similar manner in the case of the ELAS wounded veterans, whom they removed from the Hippocraton Hospital, according to the testimony of Second Lieutenant Evangelos Zelos of the 2/39th. Fellow-fighter N. Coulourides of the 2/7 Battalion was arrested with others by the British. Having arrested them, their captors began beating them with the butts of their guns shouting at them "Bolshevik, oh!" and after this turned them over to the men of the Mountain Brigade at Gazi to finish with them. Those who happened to have a beard received a special "Kind Treatment" in terms of beatings and tortures. The bearded Second Lieutenant G. Bikas of the 42nd testifies: "It seemed that all, the English, the Gendarmes and National Guardsmen, felt that they ought to beat me, or pluck off my beard by pulling it. They nearly executed me." Fellow-fighter D. Calikis of the Sixth Regiment testifies that the English and the Gendarmes made him swallow the badge of ELAS. Fellow-fighter Ritsas of the 2nd Division's Headquarters' Company testifies that on December 7, 1944, the English shelled the Red Cross Hospital killing 30 wounded persons who were in surgery section. The same man testifies that in Camp Goudi, they took, supposedly for cross examination, quite a few of the ELAS adherents who never were brought back. He is sure that they did away with them. Men of the Mountain Brigade struck with an automatic the wounded Rombora from Kiato. Fellow-fighter Antonios Boukas of the 7th Regiment testifies: "I was arrested on January 4, 1945 together with Second Lieutenant Michael Kivlos of the 7th Regiment from Loutsas of Euboea. The English made us walk with our hands up. While we were walking, the English fired from behind killing the Second Lieutenant." N. Barouhas of the 7th Regiment testifies: "The English took as prisoner fellow-fighter Mikouli from Andros, machine gunner of the 3rd Machine Gun Corps of the 7th Regiment. He was their prisoner when they killed him with an automatic using a pistol to give him the coup de grace in my presence. "Lieutenant of the Medical Corps Emilios Macris of the 74th Regiment testifies: "Doctor Broutsalis, President of the Levadia Medical Society was captured at the battle of Sotiria. As he was led away with his hands up, the English shot him with an automatic gun wounding him seriously. His fate is unknown." Captain Panayiotis Panakles testifies that at Camp Goudi in order to frighten the visitors, the English fired, wounding one of the fellow-fighters in his foot, which was later amputated. Fellow-fighter Georgiades of the 42nd Regiment testifies: "I was arrested by the English at Sotiria on December 11, 1944 and was taken to Camp Goudi. On the way to the camp, the English soldiers took off my clothes leaving me with only my underwear and without shoes. Even more disgraceful, while en route to Goudi with eight other guerillas an English officer fired at us from a tank, killing the doctor of the 34th Regiment and one guerilla. I do not remember their names." At the Helleniko Camp, according to the testimony of fellow-fighter N. Kaliris of the 6th Regiment and, also, according to other fellow-fighters, the English fired at us, killing one and wounding a fellow-fighter because they wanted to go through one **square** to another in the same camp.

Their quarters in the first days of their arrest and later were more than wretched. Three hundred persons slept on a cement floor at Goudi in a room without light and air. They were not allowed to go out even for their natural functions and used a portable cesspool during the first days. In the refuge of the Vika factory, which accommodated 400 persons at the most, - so

testifies N. A. Karras of the 7th Regiment - one thousand two hundred persons (1200) are now crowded together having no light and air. The detained persons have fainting spells from asphyxia. The English would answer their protests and appeals with this: "You f..... Greeks, you will die there as rats." Thirty persons are quartered in small tents, **sleeping** on the damp ground, with the result that many cases of pleurisy and pneumonia break out, says Lieutenant of the Medical Corps Emilios Macris.

In Hasani, says Second Lieutenant Evangelos Zelos, the English left us in the barbed wire enclosure during a heavy rain because we had insulted a Bouradas quisling gendarme. They had no blankets at the beginning. A few days later and as a result of our protests, a blanket was given to each person. Their food consists of 8-10 biscuits daily (20-30 drams of bread), a little tea without sugar and 10-15 drams of cheese in the morning and a little pea soup or bean soup containing few beans, always saltless and 1/6 of a can of corned-beef at night. Whenever we protested the food rations would be reduced. We were allowed to drink water only once in every 24 hours from a pot which did not contain even half an oka (i.e. less than 1.42 pounds). This quantity of water was all we had to drink, to wash our eating utensils and to wash our faces. Many a day, the prisoners were left without any water, and consequently drank the dirty muddy water, using their handkerchiefs and shirts for straining purposes. No cigarettes were given at all. Only those who had managed to hide some money or a watch or who still had new undershirts or shirts to give in exchange, could get cigarettes. The imprisoned Greek blackmarket operators were charging at the rate of 20 to 25 drachmas per cigarette. The English raised this price first to 50 and later to 70 drachmas while the price of a cigarette in Athens was 2-3 drachmas at the most. Conditions were even worse in the first days. "In the Vika factory", wrote fellow-fighters Haikalis and Safakos, "they left us completely without food for forty-eight hours. Women with nursing babies were also held there. They refused food even to them and let them faint from hunger. After this and as a result of our strong protests they gave some food to the women." "In the Goudi Camp", so testifies fellow-fighter K. Athanasiou, "people would fall down from hunger." One of these was Rev. Archimandrite Papapetros Askitis. It is characteristic that the soup which was left over was not given to the hungry persons but was thrown away. Feeding conditions were somewhat improved during the last days and instead of biscuits, the prisoners would get 100-120 drams of bread. On the boat which took them to Volos, they gave them 6-10 biscuits on the first day and a little tea. As a result of protests they gave them 3½ packs, i.e. 42 biscuits. On the boat, the English sold cigarettes for 30-40 drachmas a piece, but nobody had money to buy them. To the Committee which took over the prisoners in Volos they gave quite a considerable quantity of food for them.

MEDICAL CARE: During the first eight days, the wounded received no treatment at all. The bandages of their wounds were not changed and smelled very bad, so testify fellow-fighters Athanasiou K. and Lieutenant of the Medical Corps, Macris. Their excuse was that they had no gauze! There was no improvement in food for the wounded and the sick, no medicine at all. After the protests of Lieutenant Colonel Papazisis and the other doctors held there, also through the intercession of the British physician Captain Robinson, - who really showed, according to fellow-fighter Macris, great humanitarianism, -- some indispensable medicine was given to the sick and the bandages of the wounded were changed.

The prisoners were stripped of anything which had any value. They were

robbed not only by the Gendarmes, the National Guards, the Riminities* and the rest of the riff-raff, they were also robbed by the English privates and officers, and principally by the latter (British officers and men). It is characteristic that Major Boulodemos of the Mountain Brigade advised Doctor Elias Boulopoulos of the 11th Regiment to hide all his valuables, because "the English will take them." The English took a watch belonging to the Lieutenant of the Medical Corps, Doctor Macris; also, his overcoat, his fountain pen, his comb, his tobacco case, his camera, a gold English pound, his stethoscopes, as well as other medical instruments and first aid articles which he had with him. The English, after taking all the belongings of N.A. Karras wanted to cut his finger too in order to remove the ring which wouldn't come off. Anastasios Karayiorghos from Agrini, of the 1/42nd Battalion testifies: "In 1941, I concealed and looked after some English soldier at the risk of exposing my family to reprisals. Now, the English tortured me, stole my watch, a gold cross and my engagement ring, and tore up the photographs of my children saying that they would kill the children too." It is impossible to include in the report the looting. For, if this were done, the report would turn into a document listing the names of the prisoners with every object of great or small value which they possessed, - money, watches, fountain pens, cameras, binoculars, tobacco cases, small mirrors, flint lighters, rings, combs, wallets, cigarettes, pencils, overcoats, new boots, tunics and new underwear, as well as shirts, handkerchiefs and stockings. All these articles were looted.

Objects of somewhat greater worth were taken by British officers. The English privates took the less valuable ones. The only things saved were those which had been hidden by their owners, in their shoes or in the hollow of their knees.

For money taken, they gave receipts to some. Later on board the ships, they took back these receipts and destroyed them. I have in my possession and I am submitting 26 such receipts, representing 20,900 drachmas, and about 7 English pounds sterling.

Visits were not allowed. They fired upon and vulgarly insulted women who would come to inquire after their relatives. They kept all parcels sent to the prisoners at the beginning. Then they would steal their contents, selling them in the black market.

They would address the prisoners with such expressions as: "You Bulgarians, Germans, traitors", "shut up", and "you f..... Greeks", a phrase which, more than anything else, more than even the beatings, would infuriate our fellow- fighters.

They are generally imbued with the spirit of black fascist reaction, a thoroughly anti-communistic spirit, a purely anti-Soviet spirit. These sentiments are not only the sentiments of the riff-raff who masquerade as the Government forces of Greece. They are above all the sentiments of the English officers and men. I am citing a few facts by way of proof: The chauffeur of Lieutenant Colonel Popoff, head of the Soviet Military Delegation, was arrested. He had the proper identification card and also carried a permit for freedom-of-movement issued by Scobie himself.

* Editor's Note: Members of the Royalist Mountain Brigade who were brought to Athens from the Rimini (Italy) warfront.

Neither the identification nor the permit had any meaning for the Greeks and the English. He, too, was confined in a camp, in which he stayed 6-7 days, when a Russian Major took him away.

Those who pose new as the Plastiras' National Guardsmen are nothing but Tsoliades (Rhallis security battalion members) and other collaborationists, clad in the uniform of the National Guard. Fellow Combatant Dascalopoulos of the 11th Regiment, who was head of the Spetses Camp for the Safety battalionists of Peloponnesus, recognized many of them; but they, themselves, in front of the English, show the ELAS people their photos in Evzones' uniforms, or their photos taken even with sections of the German forces, and say to our fellow-fighters: "Do you see us? For three months you kept us in camps and prisons. Our turn has come now."

Morfis, the Special Security's Major, attempted to enlighten the ELAS men politically, boasting in front of the English that for years he had been serving with the anti-communist espionage.

Lyres, the investigator of the Security Battalions, wearing the uniform of the Mountain Brigade, is again holding investigations now.

Anaotasio Georghopoulos of the 11th Regiment recognized Major Vorrias and First Lieutenant Scaloubaka of the Security Battalions. Both were in National Guard Uniforms.

The English beat and tortured the ELAS people because according to their own words - "The ELAS people are Communists and Bolsheviks."

With a special torture, they tortured even those ELAS adherents whom they found in hospitals, nursing wounds they received while battling against the Germans.

At every opportunity the English would emphasize: "The Russians will not bring you bread."

At the investigations held by the British together with Greek spies, the following were among charges aggravating the fate of prisoners:

- 1) Their patriotic activity during the occupation.
- 2) Their arrest and detention by the Germans at Haidari.
- 3) Any dealings the examined person might have had with the Special Security in the years of the Kings Metaxas' dictatorship, in the years of the 4th of August regime, etc.

"An English examiner", so testifies Second Lieutenant G. Bikas, "is accusing the ELAS, because in attacking the Germans it brought about the burning of Greek villages (in reprisal)."

I am giving the verbatim conversation between fellow-fighter Theodoraki Georgio of the 2/34th Regiment, a native of Vlithia, Crete, and a student of mathematics, and the English Captain Kauffman or Arthur (his real name probably is Snelegar). Let it be noted that Theodorakes had hidden in his village and for a considerable length of time had played host to the English Captain and 10 of his comrades-in-arms. He was betrayed to the Gestapo agents; hounded by the Germans; his home was burned along with the homes of

his relatives, and his family was scattered. During the examinations, all this was recognized. The conversation follows:

Arthur - "I feel sorry for you. You are a boy with education and nevertheless, you belong to the ranks of the Bulgarian Communists. You have made a contribution to the English. Greece has enough of barren fields and these will be fertilized with the corpses of the Communists. What have the Russian comrades given you that you are supporting them so strongly? Have you forgotten that England is the mother of Greece?"

Theodorakes - "If your wish is that I speak as a slave, in that case I have nothing to say. If you wish me to speak as a free man, I will answer you as soon as you allow it."

Arthur - (angrily) "Speak up".

Theodorakes - "We did not know that England was waging an anti-Soviet war. On our part, we were conducting a war of assistance to all the Allies and to our country."

Arthur - "You know that the Bulgarians have entered Salonika."

Theodorakes - "We know who have signed with the Bulgarians; we know the resistance of the ELAS in Macedonia; we know who are honest and who are traitors. You know all this and you know our aims, even better than we do, but you pretend that you don't know them because this is not to your interest."

Arthur - (infuriated.) "You bastard of a boy. You are a fanatic." (He starts beating him.)

Theodorakes - "This is your payment of gratitude for the care you and your comrades received from us, for the burning of my home, for the persecution against me and the ousting of my family from my village."

Arthur - "In those days you were doing something godly. Now you are a Bulgarian traitor."

Theodorakes - "I am a Greek patriot and you know it."

Arthur - (Calm, having apparently remembered the principle of a free conscience) "Very well. Keep your ideas to yourself. I will only ask you about military matters which are of interest to me."

I should note here that in the beginning, Theodorakes and another fellow combatant were called Germans. The same had happened in the case of another fellow fighter who carried with him a German trophy. They wanted to execute both of them. The cross-examinations would begin from the moment of the arrest and would be continued throughout the detention without any result but with the obvious purpose of breaking the nerve of those held. Only those who were recognized as men of the Reaction (members of the X (Hi) Organization - EDES adherents - Security battalionists etc.) were released, or those whose anti-popular convictions were vouched for by the Security agents or by the leaders of EDES, of the X organization, etc. The rest were kept in the camps or were sent to Tobruk.

The Red Cross did not visit the camps even once. American newspapermen who

saw the victims, told them "Be patient. All this is wrong, but they found the opportunity to do what they are doing. We are going to protest, and we hope that the evil will stop." Many of those under detention believe that if the conditions of the first days showed some improvement, this was due to protests of American newspapermen to the British Embassy. No protest and no request on the part of those held was listened to. The answer was that everything would be left up to General Scobie.

It is obvious that the English were attempting to break the spirit of the people's fighters by torture, hunger, thirst, wretchedness, physical neglect, dirt and continuous inquisitions.

Those who had been kept at Haidari as prisoners of the Germans find in comparing past and present conditions at the camps that the Hitlerites' treatment was incomparably more humane. However, the results were contrary to what the English thought they would bring about. The morale of our ELAS people is extremely high. Their hatred for fascism is stronger than ever. "Even inside the camp, in spite of them, we are singing our **songs**" all of them told me. Naturally, we were upset because we took the English to be friends, allies and, above all, civilized persons. But it's just as well that we have their number now. "There's one thing we'd like to say", many of them have said, "one may be taken prisoner by any army in the world, but if he is about to fall into the hands of the English, it's better to commit suicide." All of them were enthusiastic and touched by the reception they found in Volos. "Our stomachs are upset" they say and this is true, after so many days of hunger. They complain that they did not find the same reception in Larissa. But they excuse the Larissans as not knowing the true nature of the English. In bringing *my* report to an end, I shall not attempt to draw any conclusions. However, I wish only to be allowed to cite a few facts regarding the treatment accorded to English captives by ELAS - "the gangsters from the mountains" according to Mr. Churchill's statement in the House of Commons - "the men who are more despicable than the Germans" - according to the report of Mr. Leeper, the British Ambassador in Athens. These facts are not limited only to order 195, nor to orders issued by the ELAS on December 12, 1944, alone, or to order 18494 and other orders of the General Command, orders containing commands and strict instructions "regarding our good behavior toward the English and to other captives." "Magnanimity, and respect toward those in captivity are tokens of bravery and of a higher conception of the humanitarian ideas by which the conscious and courageous army of ELAS has proven that it is animated," to quote from the above orders. Similar orders were also given by the National Liberation organizations and the EAM parties.

Also, I would like to include the following facts. On the strength of your order 870, I was sent, together with the Chief Doctor of the General Command, fellow-fighter Klidonas, to visit the English prisoners' camp at Lazarina and take any measures to ensure good and comfortable living conditions for the prisoners. We went there. All the high-ranking English Lieutenant Colonels, Majors, and others told us: "We do not need anything. We also see that you are doing everything possible. We are eating the same food as your men; we are getting the same rations of cigarettes. We are delighted at the good conduct of the men and of the chief of the camp. We only wish you could supply us with a little more tea or coffee for breakfast, for we English are used to these. Also, we ask you, if possible to install an improvised shower so that those in detention may bathe. If it is intended that we stay here a long time and if it possible, we wish that the number of persons in the camp could be somehow reduced, for it is rather crowded in the rooms."

Orders were given to install the showers, to increase the soap ration, to give more tea or coffee for breakfast, if these articles could still be found among the things taken from the Germans. Also, these orders called for making arrangements for the English -- all of whom had English pounds in their possession - to shop with their own money at the market so that they would complete the guerilla ration (two hundred drams of bread) with fruit and anything else they liked. In addition to all this, the English were receiving more provisions, dropped for them by English airplanes. It is unnecessary to emphasize that all - somewhat crowded, it is true - lived in warm quarters, with light and air and stoves, and that they were free to move about in the daytime, nor is it necessary to emphasize that all of them were supplied with shoes and clothes, at a time when many guards - of the reserve ELAS - were without clothes and completely barefooted. The English Chief Doctor - a Lieutenant Colonel - reminding us of the Geneva Laws and the International Rights told us: "I do not know what the guerillas of ELAS are eating. The British prisoners must eat meat three times a day and a little ham in the morning if possible, and my patients - he had a few slightly ill patients in the convalescents' room (the seriously ill and the wounded were being treated in our hospitals at Trikkala and Larissa) must have chicken in their fare." Even in our presence he insulted the ELAS' and the National Solidarity's responsible persons, because the eggs and milk - free, of course - were delayed. Regarding medicine, what little ELAS had of these from booty taken from the Germans, he came personally to the General Command, demanded and took what he needed."

Respectfully,

Seraphin Stratikes
Director, Second Bureau

(6) Mr. Bikel, the Red Cross Representative, made the following statement to the press:

Document Number 96.

Many things were heard in Athens to the effect that ELAS ill-treated the English prisoners, that it deprived them of their clothes and shoes, that it withheld the food and the other articles dropped for them by the English airplanes. I have ascertained with my own eyes that nothing is more inaccurate than these rumors. The English prisoners are wearing the new clothes and shoes they had **on** the day **they** were captured. I **stayed** for hours with them and asked them whether they are satisfied with the way the ELAS is treating them. They answered me unanimously that they are perfectly satisfied. Also their food is very good. I asked them if they received the articles which are being dropped to **them** from airplanes and they answered that they receive them up to the last article. I must state that from none did I hear the slightest complaint. Only during the first days of their captivity they suffered a few hardships, hut as the English themselves admitted to me this was unavoidable and due to continuous shiftings. What I saw and heard I am obliged to bring to the knowledge of the British Authorities **and** to proclaim them to public opinion as well."

(7) Finally we are presenting a testimonial by the American Captain Mr. Kennedy which speaks of the humane treatment of the British wounded.

Document Number 97.

American Mission to Larissa - February 1, 1945

To Whom It May Concern:

"It is hereby certified that Mrs. Ketty Gaitanou, director of the Military hospital of Larissa and a nurse of the Greek Red Cross, contributed much to the good treatment of the British wounded and the sick who were at the above hospital. There were 27 men, one woman and one child - all prisoners of the ELAS - in that hospital between December 25 and January 24, 1945, and I had the opportunity of visiting them frequently. I am convinced that they received excellent care both from Mrs. Ketty Gaitanou personally and from the entire personnel. The men were, under the existing conditions, especially satisfied."

For the American Mission at Larissa

Captain Kennedy of the U.S.A.

III

"War Criminals Are Protected."

From the above agreements regarding the truce and the exchange of prisoners it is seen that the policeman, gendarmes and other armed fascists were placed under the protection of General Scobie. Regarding the Gendarmerie especially we note the following:

(1) On February 19, 1945, the representatives of EAM-ELAS, of EDES, of the EKKA and Mr. Christy, the representative of the British forces under the Middle East Command said the following in their common declaration:

Document Number 98.

The undersigned organizations of EAM, ELAS, of EDES, of EKKA, the Greek Military Command in Egypt and the allied mission in Greece declare the following through their authorized representative:

- 1) They consider the Rhallis Government and all those who constitute it as assisting in every way the conqueror in the tyrannizing and extermination of the Greek people and in combating the Greek cause as well as the cause of the United Nations. As such they consider it (the Rhallis government) an enemy of the country.
- 2) They regard all who enlist in the Special Security Corps, in the Evzones' Battalion and the Gendarmerie - all of which was organized by the Rhallis' Government and were armed and guided by the conquerors as well as in every other similar creation of the conquerors and of Rhallis - as War Criminals and enemies of the Nation accountable to it for acts of treason.
- 3) They ask those who belong to the above organizations to withdraw from them immediately. No excuse of any kind is valid after this notice.

Somewhere in the Mountains of Greece, February 19, 1944.

EAM - ELAS: Sarafis - Rousos

EDES' Delegation: Nicolpoulos - Pyromaglou

Delegation Greek Command in Egypt: Colonel Christy

EKKA: Psaros-Kurtalis

Allied Commission in Greece: Colonel Christy

(2) Premier Papandreou in his message to the Greek people after the end of the conflict said:

Document Number 99.

"It has now been asked that the entire Gendarmerie Corps be put out of service.... Only the promise of a strict purging was contained in our declarations. Even so, in order to show our good faith... we accepted the term."

(3) However, General Scobie issued the following order on December 6, 1944:

Document Number 100.

Regarding the participation of civilians as volunteers in military operations:

"Although the fact is appreciated that many citizens wish to take up arms in order to assist the Government forces, nevertheless, we cannot allow this.

"The only qualified Greek Armed Forces are the following:

"The Mountain Brigade, the Gendarmerie, the City Police Force, the National Guard.

"Consequently, orders were given that everyone in civilian clothes found carrying weapons be disarmed and arrested whether he takes part in the battle or not.

December 6, 1944.

Ronald Scobie, Lieutenant-Colonel
Commander-in-Chief of the Land Forces in
Greece.

The Gendarmes, i.e., the declared war criminals, fought together with the British armies and are enjoying their protection.....

The Central Committee of EAM, after the signing of the Armistice, sent to the Governments of the Allied countries the following two appeals:

Document Number 101.

a) The signing of the truce, brought about by our unshakable desire that the conflict between two allied peoples cease, compels us to address ourselves once more to the governments of the Big Allies, to state the conditions of the conflict and to ask that this tragic situation be brought to an end. True to the principles of the great war conducted by the United Nations, which were expressed in the resolutions of the Atlantic Charter and

the declarations of the Teheran conference, we fought the invaders relentlessly for three years, and all the democratic forces of our people were organized in this fight. After the liberation of our country, we asked only that a representative government of National Unity be continued until all the remnants of fascism in our country were liquidated and that the free expression of the will of our people and the democratic development of the country ensured.

Unfortunately, this effort of ours did not succeed, because the forces of the Right which rely principally on the collaborationist traitors to the nation took an intransigent attitude, on the basis of General Scobie's British forces.

General Scobie landed in Greece in order to assist in her liberation. However, although he made no contribution to the task of liberating our country, by his intervention he prevented the solution of every question which would have brought about the normal democratic development of our country, such as organization of a National Army, expression of the national will through lawful, peaceful meetings, the dissolution of the Armed forces, this last one constituting the cause of the conflict. When the Right, having made sure of General Scobie's support, started the attack against our people, General Scobie attacked with the British forces and started war against the resistance forces.

Every attempt of ours to stop the conflict hit the snag of a one-sided approach. General Scobie claims that he is to deal only with military matters and that the Greek government is the qualified agency for political matters, but the latter, relying on the strength of the British armies, constantly displayed a spirit of intransigency, aimed at crushing the democratic movement of our country,

This phenomenon was manifested even after the arrival of Mr. Churchill, who declared that the hostilities would continue if no understanding was reached between the political parties. The parties of the Right did not even answer the proposals of EAM. On the contrary, a Regent was appointed, who in his daily statements, appeared as the leader of the Right. The Government of General Plastiras, with his record in the past, his statements and the way in which he was appointed as well as the arrests of thousands of citizens, increase the anxiety of our democratic people and the danger of perpetuating the fascistic dictatorial elements in our country.

There is a danger that the truce which we have accepted may bring about the same result. The first condition which was formulated by General Scobie, stating that "hostilities will cease so that parleys may be held between the Greek Government and the representatives of EAM-ELAS for the adjustment of pending questions" gives to the Right every opportunity to maintain its irreconcilable position, in the certainty that it will have the protection of the armored British forces should the democratic resistance forces refuse to submit. We invoke the mediation of our great Allies. We ask that an inter-allied Commission be sent to Greece, composed of representatives of England, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America and the French Republic, which will put an end, according to allied war principles, to General Scobie's intervention. Thus the Greek people will be left free to enforce the democratic principles of their country through the establishment of a representative government and through a genuine expression of the people's will, which the aforementioned Commission will ascertain.

With the conviction that a people which has sacrificed every thing for the common cause of victory for democracy will not be abandoned to the mercy of the forces of violence, we remain

Respectfully,

For the Central Committee of EAM

D. Partsalides, Secretary,

(5) Also, the Central Committee of the EAM addressed the following appeal to the House of Commons, the House of Lords, the National Council of France, to the American Congress, to the Supreme Soviet, and to the leaders of political parties and presidents of organizations in the Allied countries.

Document Number 102.

"Now that the armistice is signed and British arms have ceased shattering our people, we hope that our voice will reach you and that you will assist in bringing to a final end a war between two allied peoples. True to the ideals of liberty and democracy, we have fought the common enemy with utmost determination. Later on, as soon as we were liberated, we asked that the declared aims of the allied cause be realized also in our country; that war criminals be punished, that the state machinery be purged of fascists; that the people express their will through elections.

"Yet, the reactionary Right whose dictatorial elements are the well known fascists, the Quislings, the traitors, were uniting to impose a dictatorship and let loose a most cowardly war against the Greek people. In this war of the Right, the allied British forces were decisive and the principal factor. Our efforts to stop the war proved futile. Just as futile were our continuous concessions made in the hope of stopping the war. General Scobie, and unfortunately, even Mr. Churchill, threatened that, as long as no agreement was reached among the political circles, the British guns would continue to fire. On the other hand, the reactionary Right, fortifying itself behind the British Armies and finding support in the above mentioned statements, became more and more irreconcilable. It frustrated every attempt at agreement and thus gave the British forces time to exterminate our people. It suffices for us to mention that the discussion which started in the presence of Mr. Churchill was not continued and the chairman of that conference who in the meantime became the Regent, instead of continuing the discussions as he had promised, shunted aside the political leaders and formed a dictatorial Government including only persona from the Right and headed by a personage conspicuous in the history of the land for his contempt of popular liberties. By word and deed this Government attempts to revive fascism.

"We accepted Central Scobie's terms and we signed the truce for peace in our land, for the forming of a representative government, for the beginning of a normal democratic life. However, the attempt of the Right to exterminate the democratic elements became clear from the statements of the Regent, - who turned from the Highest Executive into a Leader of the Right, - from the statements of Premier Plastiras and from the persecutions of the democratic elements.

"In this work, the Right has made sure of the assistance of the British forces, since even the truce leaves open the threat that the British armies will resume the massacre when the reactionary Right will have frustrated

every attempt at understanding, and since General Scobie unbecomingly makes political speeches in which he clearly places himself in the camp of the Right and prides himself on having suppressed the alleged conspiracy of the democratic Greek people.

"For all those reasons we ask of the Allied peoples that they put a definite end to the war of the British armies against the Greek people and to the persecution of the democrats.

"In addition, we ask that they (the Allied peoples) support our appeal of January 15 to the Governments of the Allied countries that an inter-allied Commission be sent to Greece, this Commission to be composed of representatives of England, the Soviet Union, the United States of America and the French Republic, to bring to an end General Scobie's intervention, and to supervise the free expression of the people's sentiment in the elections, thus ensuring the prerequisites for the country's entry into a normal political life.

"The Greek people find themselves today without clothes, sick, and shattered in the midst of the ruins left by the German conqueror and all the ruins accumulated by Mr. Scobie's unjust war.

"The people believe that you will not leave them alone in this unequal but righteous struggle.

"For the Central Committee of the EAM

"G. Siantos, for KKE; E. Tsirimokos, for EL D; K, Gavrielides for the Agrarian Party; A. Marangos for the United Socialist Party; S. Kriticas for the Democratic Union; I. Hadjiemmanuel for the Democratic Party; D. Strates for the Socialist Party; S. Mastroyiannakos for the General Confederation of Workers of Greece; Ch. Kalaidjis for the Central Committee of State Employees; G. Georgalas for the United Pan-Hellenic Organization of Youth; P. Simos for National Solidarity."

CHAPTER VII

The Hostages

Assisted by Mr. Churchill, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Reaction **tries** to poison international public opinion by accusing the ELAS of having held its followers as hostages. Fifty thousand hostages are held today outside of Greece by the British forces. These hostages are slowly dying in Tobruk, in Jerusalem, in Moses' Springs and elsewhere. These figures do not include those whom the English and the Athens authorities are holding in prisons and in the Attica army camps, No mention is made of all these hostages, despite the fact that since January 13, 1945 the Central Committee of ELAS freed all hostages.

In this matter too let us look at the record.

(1) Since the beginning of hostilities our adversaries have carried out numerous arrests of hostages. In a radio broadcast, during the first days of the war, Scobie announced that he had sent 3000 to Tobruk alone. The arrests and the medieval tortures surpassed even the horrible sieges, block by block, of the Germans, when the British captured the "Kallithea" neighborhood in Athens. Apropos of the above, the Central Committee of EAM sent the following letter to His Grace, the Archbishop of Athens:

Document Number 103.

December 27, 1944

To

His Grace, the Archbishop of Athens and all Greece, *Damaskinos,*

City

Your Grace;

"According to our absolutely verified information, among the hundred arrested in Kallithea, after the withdrawal of the ELAS, is included the Archimandrite of Kallithea, who was President of the People's Committee there.

"Despite the respect due to his calling, this clergyman suffered the fate of the other arrested persons, was branded on the forehead, ignominiously exposed in public, and reviled.

The arrests are made, as we are informed,, by mixed groups of English and national Guardsmen.

"In bringing this to your attention, we wish to underline the conduct of the Papandreou Government's agents of 'order' toward the entire people and even against the representatives of the Church.

"With the *most* profound respect,

For the Central Committee of EAM
Alc. Loulis."

(2) Only after 15 days of war and in order to force their foes to stop the arrest of non-combatants, the Central Committee of ELAS was compelled to arrest a few persons, mostly collaborationists. However, immediately after this, it asked that all further arrests be stopped and that all those arrested be freed. We are citing the relevant document:

Document Number 104.

December 28, 1944

To His Grace, the Archbishop of Athens and all Greece, Damaskinos

City

Your Grace:

"It is known that the English and the government authorities have resorted from the first day of the present anomalous situation to numerous arrests of citizens, among whom have been many old men, women and children. As time passed, the arrests assumed a wider aspect with the result that, as we are informed, thousands of entirely innocent individuals already are under detention and most of these are undergoing tortures and humiliation, and some of them, according to unverified reports in our possession, have been executed. On the other hand General Scobie has made statements that 3000 ELAS adherents, who are prisoners, have been sent out of Greece by boat. Yet these 3000 Greeks are not ELAS men, but civilians under detention.

"Despite the above situation, the EAM did not resort to analogous measures until about 10 days ago, when in the face of increasing terroristic methods of its opponents, it was forced, in defense of the life and the integrity of thousands of its followers under detention, also to resort to the arrest of a number of persons, in the great majority collaborationists.

"Inspired by respect for democratic liberties and the welfare of citizens, irrespective of their political convictions, we feel sorry as Greeks and as human beings that we were forced to resort in self-defense to similar measures.

"Desirous of mitigating as much as possible the consequences of those necessary measures, we asked Your Grace, through Mr. Kavadias, the manufacturer, to intercede with the opposing side, urging that it accept our proposals recording the freeing of all those arrested, or at least, of women, old men and minors among them, except those incriminated by concrete evidence (for criminal acts or for collaboration with the enemy).

"That action of ours coincided with another which resulted from your initiative: The Metropolitan of Yithiou, on meeting our representatives, asked:

- 1) The freeing by both sides of women, old men and children under detention;
- 2) The granting of permission to visit those held in concentration camps and the distribution to them of certain articles on your part; also that a list of names of those held be supplied.

"It is self-evident that since we asked for a broader solution of the question regarding the persons who are held, we are in accord with your above proposals and we request that you act, as quickly as possible, with the

proper persons of the opposing side in order to achieve the solution. Regarding especially the question of the concentration camps we asked the proper authorities to let us know where these camps are situated so as to inform you accordingly; also we asked that the list of names of those held be sent to us. The difficulties connected with compiling this list should not be overlooked, considering that many prisoners are being freed daily since the guilt of these persons has not been established.

"Hoping that we shall have a speedy result from action which Your Grace will take upon our recommendations, conveyed to Your Grace through your representative, the Metropolitan of Yithiou, we remain with most profound respect.

"For the Central Committee of the EAM
Alc. Loulis"

(3) Since December 29, 1944 the Central Committee of the ELAS has proposed that all non-combatants be released by both sides. As a matter of fact it freed the women who had been held. Our adversaries have not yet condescended to answer our conciliatory proposal:

Hers is the relevant document:

Document Number 105.

"After the beginning of reaction's attack against the people, an unprecedented persecution was launched by its agents, authorized and unauthorized. Arrests of non-combatant citizens, of women and children, of old men and sick persons, were made by the thousands. There were violations of the sanctity of the home, kidnappings, lootings and mass executions. The police dungeons and Mr.. Papandreou's concentration camps surpass in horror the Hitlerian infernos. Hunger, nakedness, tortures, and humiliations of the detained persons are the means by which Mr. Papandreou and his supporters are trying to subdue the indomitable people of Athens and Piraeus. The men who stood for 'Freedom', 'Legality', 'Order' and 'Tranquility' even attempted mass and individual killings. Neither the non-combatant population, nor the captive soldiers and the officers of ELAS, or the wounded and the sick were treated with mercy or respect by the native and foreign pupils of Hitler and Simana, In view of this situation, the forces of popular resistance found it necessary to take, against their will, the requisite steps for defense and self protection. Nevertheless, the Central Committee of ELAS realized that this situation, for which Mr. Papandreou and his supporters bear the entire responsibility, caused hardships for all sections of the people. For this reason it proposes that such measures cease. If the reaction ceases the persecutions and the arrests, we, too are ready to stop every new arrest. We are even ready to order the release of all persons detained except those charged with illegal acts, if the same is done - honestly and truly - by the reaction as well. Already, the first to set the example, we have ordered the release of those detained who are not charged individually with illegal acts, and we have taken steps for the care and relief of the old and the sick. However, if all that we are proposing and doing does not find proper response, we are warning the reaction that, despite all our disinclination, we will be compelled to apply, for the protection of the people, exactly the same measures which it (the reaction) applied against the citizens it has arrested. We warn especially, that the killings and disappearances of our followers, who are held either by authorized or by unauthorized agents of the

reaction will not be accepted and will remain unanswered by us. Consequently, our adversaries will bear the entire responsibility for the continuation and the aggravation of this situation.

"The Central Committee of ELAS, Mantakas, Hadjimihalis, Siantos."

With the ceasing of hostilities (January 11, 1945) the Central Committee of ELAS ordered the release of those held, since the military reasons which necessitated the arrests no longer exist to any extent.

Document Number 106.

COMMUNIQUE

"From the first days of the last conflict, the British Military Authorities as well as the tools of reaction, - authorized and unauthorized, - arrested for no reason at all thousands of non-combatant citizens - men, women and even old men and children.

'The mere suspicion that they belonged to the EAM side - often simply because they came from or lived in districts branded as friendly to EAM, - was sufficient to cause their arrest and imprisonment in the police dungeons or in concentration camps. Even those who had been taken on English ships outside of Greece were not ELAS fighters but non-combatant citizens. Even the forces of Zervas, upon fleeing from Epirus, kidnapped as hostages 1,500 non-combatant citizens, with the help of the British Wavy,

'In the face of this situation, the resistance forces were compelled regretfully to resort to similar steps, especially among the collaborationists and those plotting against the people's liberties, in order, on the one hand to force the opposite side to stop the unjustified mass arrests of non-combatant civilians and, on the other hand, to ensure some elementary guarantee for the life and safety of our arrested non-combatant followers.

"In its desire that these steps should cause as little distress as possible, the Central Committee of ELAS, through its order Number 712, dated December 28, 1944, voluntarily and without waiting for reciprocation, ordered the release of women not charged individually with criminal acts, the exemption of old people and sick persons from marching, the provision of special care of them and the release of those most weakened. Subsequently, because it at all times found these steps painful, and desired to put an end to the hardships of the non-combatant population, it asked the proper persons of the Right, - through its communique of December 28, 1944, published also in the press - that arrests cease on both sides and that all arrested non-combatants be released by both sides.

'^Unfortunately, the responsible parties of Right did not answer; and, strangely, when the matter of exchange of prisoners by the two parties came up for discussion between the representatives of ELAS and Lieutenant Colonel Scobie, the British Military Authorities contended that they had no such prisoners. The reaction, too, made the same contention.

"The Greek people, who are experiencing these sufferings, know the facts. However, for demagogic reasons inaccurate reports of those events are transmitted abroad in the belief that we have no means of communication with the outside world and shall be unable to establish the truth.

"This, too, is characteristic of the 'fair means' which the Right wing is using against our side.

"Irrespective of the above, the Central Committee of ELAS, in an additional token of its conciliatory attitude and of its interest in the people, ordered the immediate release of all non-combatant prisoners and the facilitation of their return to their home.

"If even after this the Right continues to detain non-combatant civilians, it will bear the entire responsibility before the Greek people and international public opinion which will learn, sooner or later, the whole truth.

"The Central Committee of ELAS,

E. Mantakas, M. Hadjimihalis, G. Siantos."

(4) At this point we should remember how Mr. Churchill, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, tried, one week after the release of the prisoners, to give a moral basis to British intervention and even threatened a new campaign, his excuse being the question of hostages, which no longer existed. Also we should remember that his compassionate heart found not even a word of sympathy for the tens of thousands of EAM followers who even today continue to be held as prisoners in Africa or in Attica.

We are citing two more documents so that the conduct of our adversaries may be appreciated:

Document Number 107.

Trikkala, January 22, 1945

File No. 7622

"To the Honorable President of the International Red Cross Committee, Athens.

"Honorable Sir:

"We have the honor to inform you of the following and to ask your attention thereto:

"Although the Central Committee of ELAS acting upon the humanitarian decision which it took altogether voluntarily on January 14, ordered the release of all non-combatants held as prisoners, a fact which, we communicated on January 16 to your representative, Mr. Lambert in our meeting at Larissa, nevertheless the same has not been done by the opposite side. On the contrary, according to official statements of the English to our representatives in Athens regarding the exchange of our prisoners, already 8000 non-combatants have been sent to Tobruk in Africa, while 5000 other persons are in Greece. Besides this number, even 1000 more non-combatants, captured by Zervas among the population of Epirus and taken away after his withdrawal, are now held in Corfu where they are **undergoing untold hardships.**

"Also we have reliable information that in Athens, after the withdrawal of ELAS, the arrests of non-combatants are continuing, as well as the mocking and stripping of men and even women in the streets, such as the case of

district attorney Trampou, - the beating of lawyers in the Lawyers' Society Headquarters who had gone to take in Red Cross food packages. There have even been instances of lynching by the same agents of the State, and cases of breaking into and plundering homes, and similar excesses.

"We think that the above mentioned events create for your organization whose mission is above all humanitarian, the imperative obligation to take the necessary and strong steps with the English authorities to end immediately these inhuman methods and also to free and return to their homes quickly all the non-combatants held by the above mentioned authorities {the English and Zervas}).

"We beg that you be so good as to keep us informed of the results of your activities regarding the above matter.

"We wish to take this opportunity to inform you that the Plastiras Government in statements on the radio yesterday implied that the decision of the Central Committee of ELAS regarding the release of non-combatants was made following pressure exerted by the International Red Cross while **it** is a well-known fact that the said decision was issued on January 14 and that our first meeting **at** Larissa with your representative, **Mr.** Lambert, on the 16th of this month, we were the ones who informed him of our decision, which he found thoroughly satisfactory, and upon which he warmly congratulated all the EAM-ELAS representatives.

' 'Accordingly we beg you take steps to establish the truth on this matter and that you do the same in the future, whenever similar instances may arise, so that the International Red Cross may not be the unwitting victim of a political exploitation of this sort by anyone.

"Please accept, Honorable Sir, the expression of our best sentiments.

For the Central Committee of EAM-ELAS,

Alc. Loulis."

The Central Committee of the EAM sent the following telegram to the President of the International Red Cross:

Document Number 108.

Trikkala, January 30, 1945

File No. 105

"To the Honorable President of the Red Cross International Committee,

"Honorable Sir;

"We have the honor to bring to your attention the following accusations of hostages still held in camps in Africa.

"1) Greek patriots were taken there during December, 1944 and January 1945. They were all arrested in Athens and Piraeus during the recent events. According to General Scobie's statement, those taken to Africa number 8,000.

"2) Greek soldiers, sailors, non-commissioned officers and officers who

have been confined in concentration camps and in various prisons since April 1944 because they demanded that a National Unity Government be formed; the number of those detained originally totaled 16,500. In its issue of January 24, 1945, the Athens newspaper 'Acropolis' estimated that the number of those held in the Egyptian camps, for last April's events amounted to 8,000, as of that day. But beside the camps in Egypt, there are also camps in Erithrea elsewhere of the same type. At any rate, the number of Greek fighters whose return to Greece is prohibited for political reasons exceeds 20,000. All the above persons are in reality held as hostages.

"3) 25,000 refugees, most of them natives of the Aegean Islands, were compelled to leave their country after the German invasion, finding refuge in Africa. These thousands of refugees have settled under the most adverse conditions in various camps in the Belgian Congo, in Moses' Springs, in Mousseirat, Palestine, in Jerusalem, in Syria, in Lebanon and in Cyprus. In most of those camps, the Greek refugees live like real hostages, experiencing the terrorism, the oppression and the exploitation of the British authorities. As indicated by the figures we have cited, the total number of Greek hostages held in Africa by the English amounts to 50,000.

"We hope that it will not be possible for the Red Cross to consider the matter of hostages as ended before the freeing and the return to Greece of all the above mentioned Greek hostages. Upon this occasion we consider it our duty to remind that many thousand more Greek patriots are still held in the police detention rooms of Athens and Piraeus, in the camps of Goudi, Hellenico, and elsewhere, although all civilians held by us have been freed.

"Looking forward to your acting as quickly as possible on the above question, we beg you, dear sir, to accept the expression of our best sentiments.

"For the Central Committee of EAM,

Alc. Loulis."

SUPPLEMENT

We consider it expedient to include in this reprint a supplementary Chapter with documents which begin on the eve of the Varkiza agreement and end with the signing of this agreement. Thus we think that the reader will have a complete record of the cycle of events from the Lebanon agreement to the Varkiza document.

CHAPTER VIII

The Varkiza Agreement

I

Violations

1. The first term of the armistice stated that the hostilities had ceased in order to facilitate political discussions. Therefore, there was an imminent danger that war would be resumed if discussions for the termination of the political crisis did not take place, or did not yield positive results. This term and the open attack of leaders of the British Government against the forces of the EAM-ELAS strengthened the reactionary Right in its irreconcilability. All that the circles of the reactionary Right had to do was not to agree on ending the crisis, and the British armies would crush the EAM forces. The EAM realized that the salvation of the people and the disarming of this irreconcilable faction depended on this agreement.

For these reasons immediately after the armistice the Central Committee of the EAM sent the following telegram:

Document Number 109.

File No. 1168

Lieutenant General Scobie via O.M.M.

For the Regent Archbishop of Greece.

"A delegation, composed of five EAM representatives, wishes to call on Your Grace for a political conference. Stop We beg that their arrival in Athens via Lamia be facilitated. Stop Awaiting your answer. Stop

"Central Committee of ELAS",

3. As no answer was forthcoming the Central Committee of EAM repeated its proposal:

Document Number 110.

File No. 1208

Lieutenant General Scobie via O.M.M.,

For the Regent Archbishop of Greece.

"In our telegram dated 15th January, we asked that Your Grace receive EAM-ELAS delegation in order to discuss broader political matters. Stop Have received no answer from you so far. Stop"

"January 18, 1945

Central Committee of ELAS"

4. During this interval all kinds of fantastic rumors circulated regarding the withdrawal from the EAM of the United Popular Democratic Party (El Tsirimokos, Secretary) and of the Socialist Party (D. Stratis, Secretary). Those rumors were given official status by Mr. Churchill in his speech in the House of Commons.

5. The following answer was received to the above telegrams:

Document Number 111.

Central Committee of ELAS, care of General Staff File No.171

"Officer 4th Indian Division conveyed following telegram in English to O.M.M. Stop Translated it reads as follows Stop The following intelligence received by Regent for the Central Committee of ELAS in answer to its radiotelegram receipt No. 1168, dated January 15, 1945, was received Stop Text Stop I am in receipt of your communication which I have included in my communique of January 11, 1945 Stop I shall take necessary steps to put your five representatives in touch with representatives of Government Stop A new notice will be sent to you when meeting will be arranged Stop End of Text. We are now awaiting dispatch of written document on part of Indian Division Stop Send Liaison Officer.'"

S.D.O.M.M. January 19, 1945 Bakirdjis - Vafiades

6. The EAM delegation left immediately upon receipt of this telegram. However, while the delegation was en route, the following telegram was received:

Document Number 112.

"From the General Command of the 4th Indian Division to the General Staff O.M.M. 9.306/2 secret Stop The following radiotelegram from Regent received for the Central Committee of ELAS Stop Quotation Stop I learned from Government that they would be ready and willing to send representatives to meet your delegates Stop The proposed meeting place will be Athens and date and time will be January 25, 16 hour Stop The Government is of the opinion, and I agree, that for the sake of accomplishing serious work, sessions must be confined to 3 representatives from either side Stop Please confirm your acceptance of these arrangements and give names of your representatives so that the necessary papers may be issued and other provisions may be made for their stay Stop Upon receipt of your confirmation a further communication will be transmitted to you by radio giving names Government representatives Stop End of quotation Stop"

Received O.M.M. January 21, 1945.

7. On the same day the Central Committee of EAM answered as follows:

Document Number 113.

File No. 1249

Lieutenant General Scobie For Archbishop Regent Daneskinos Via O.M.M.

"Beginning Stop Prior to receipt your telegram our delegation departed

from Volos morning January 21 in order save time Stop Composed of six members Central Committee EAM Stop Names of representatives Stop Dimitrios Partsalides Stop Mitiades Porfyroyenis Stop Elias Tsirimkos Stop Costas Gavrielides Stop George Georgalas Stop Alexandros Svolos, who is in Athens Stop We consider necessary a more representative participation of all in above named negotiations Stop But if you insist that number of representatives be limited to three let the delegation itself name them Stop Auxiliary personnel accompanying delegation composed of Stop Costas Vidalis Stop Dimitrios Khrantonis Stop Nicos Ramantanis Stop Finally we beg that arrival and sojourn in Athens be facilitated Stop Delegation General Confederation of Workers of Greece composed of Stop Costas Theos Stop Ioannis Kalomiris Stop Dimitrios Margioilis Stop Dimitrios Stratis Stop Who intend meet with Citrine delegate of English Syndicat Stop"

Central Committee of EAM

8. The EAM delegation was unable to reach Athens. It returned unsuccessful from Livadia. The "excuse" was given in the following telegram:

Document Number 114.

From O.M.M. January 2J, 1945

File Number 1836

General Command

"We submit communication received last evening Stop S.D.O.M.M. January 28, 1945 Ev. Bakirdjis, Mar. Vafiades.

"From the 4th Indian Division to the General Command O.M.M. British Consul Salonika Number 306. Secret Stop The following communication of His Grace has been received. He has sent it to delegates in Livadia via the Greek British Forces Stop Transmission word by word Stop From His Majesty the Regent of Greece to the ELAS delegation in Livadia Stop Beginning Stop Our objective aim for attainment quick and effective clearing up of situation imposes on us the duty to insist on terms of our yesterday's communication in accordance with which delegation from each side was to be composed of three members with a Military expert as advisor without the right to vote, and in the case of Government delegation was to be composed of three Ministers with full authorization, and in your case from three members of the C.P.G. (Communist Party of Greece) Stop Not word by word Stop In the meantime the General Command of our forces in Greece informs us that our communication No. 1249 of January 21 has been transmitted to the Archbishop Regent Damaskinos and that the delegates have left Livadia for Trikkala via Volos."

Signature illegible

Received 12 o'clock January 28, 1945.

9. The Control Committee of the EAM sent the following invitation:

Document Number 115.

File No. 78

Regent Archbishop Damaskinos

Athens

"We were amazed to learn from our returned delegation unjustifiable

postponement negotiations due your insistence on decrease of number and especially on participation only of Communist party instead of our coalition Stop We must emphasize that we, having been invited, named as the only qualified persons, a delegation representing a unified coalition of parties and organizations of EAM, a delegation which was fully authorized to negotiate and sign the agreement which might be concluded Stop It is absurd that only the Communist party should be represented and not the EAM, which was invited. Doubts are thus raised as to whether there is inclination to carry out negotiations Stop Nevertheless we hope that supreme national necessity for making peace will be recognized by you and that the arrival of our delegation will be decided, this delegation to be such an we notified you in our previous message with the addition of General Sarafis for military matters as per your specification.

"Central Committee of EAM - D. Partsalides, El. Tsirimokos, K. Gavriellides, D. Marangos, D. Stratis, S. Eritikas, I. Hadjimanolis, G. Voyiadjis, B. Mastroyoiannakos, G. Georgalas, Ch. Kaladjis, N. Simos."

10. However, the absurd demand that the opposing side should name the EAM delegation continued:

Document Number 116.

M.B. 79 To the Central Committee of ELAS

From the Archbishop, Regent, for Siantos, Mantakas, Hadjimihalis.

"In our two last messages we explained the reasons for which the number of delegates must be limited to three and that those be named by responsible leaders of the KKE (Communist Party of Greece) since the matter involved is one in which, as all knew, the main and decisive voice in the discussion thereof will be that of the Communist Party Stop So that practical results may be attained it is desirable that Messrs. Siantos and Partsalides be included among your representatives. General Sarafis may act as military Adviser and he may bring along two more assistants approved by you Stop January 29, 1945."

11. But the Central Committee of the EAM insisted on its elementary right to be the one to determine the complexion of its delegation. We quote the pertinent telegram:

Document Number 117.

File No. 104.

Regent, Archbishop Damaskinos, Athens

"In answer to your message dated January 29, transmitted to us by the Central Committee of ELAS, we are informing you that we have appointed a three member delegation composed of Siantos, Partsalides and Tsirimokos Stop General Sarafis with two assistants will accompany delegation as military advisor Stop Also to the delegation are attached Gavriellides, Georgalas and Stratis who will not (we repeat 'will not') be present at these sessions Stop Delegation leaves here tomorrow noon.

January 29, 1945

"The Central Committee of EAM D. Partsalides, El. Tsirimokos, K. Gavrielides, D. Marangos, D. Stratis, I. Hadjimanolis, G. Voyadjis, S. Mastroyianakos, G. Georgalas, Ch. Kaladjis, P. Simos Stop"

II

THE TEXT OF THE AGREEMENT.

After protracted discussions, the agreement known as the "Varkiza Agreement" was signed on February 12, 1945 in Varkiza {outside of Athens}.

The official text of the agreement is as follows:

We, the undersigned, Messrs, John Sofianopoulos, Foreign Affairs Minister, Pericles Th. Rhallis, Minister of the Interior, and Ioannis Macropoulos, Minister of Agriculture, on the one hand, composing the delegation which is authorized by the Greek Government, - and, on the other hand, Messrs. George Siantos, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece, Dimitrios Partsalides, Secretary of the Central Committee of the EAM, and Elias Tsirimokos, General Secretary of the Union of Popular Democracy (ELD), composing the duly authorized delegation of the Central Committee of the EAM, met in conference in Varkiza. Together we examined ways and means for bringing to an end the civil war as well as for the reconciliation of the Greek people, and reached the following mutually accepted agreement:

The Government delegation expressed at this conference the steadfast desire of the Government to end, without any now bloodshed, the painful internal crisis, to restore the unity of the nation and to bring back internal peace and political normalcy. In this way only will the Greek people be able to undertake constructively the rehabilitation of the country from the ruins which the hard struggles against external enemies and the fratricidal war have heaped up.

In order that the agreement reached may assume the character of an indestructible contract, expressing the mandate of the political conscience of the Greek people, the Government delegation has asked that this agreement be the instrument declaring the firm will of the Greek people to develop a free and normal political life, the principal characteristics of which will be respect for the political conscience of the citizenry. the peaceful enlightenment of the people and the propagation of political ideas and the respect for the liberties proclaimed by the Atlantic Charter and the Teheran decisions which have been consciously accepted by the peoples who are fighting for them.

It was ascertained at this conference that the EAM delegation was in complete agreement on these principles.

Number 1

LIBERTIES

The Government will ensure, according to the Constitution and the democratic principles everywhere recognized, the free expression of the political opinions of citizens, repealing any existing illiberal law. Also, it will ensure the unhampered exercising of individual liberties, such as the right of assembly, of forming associations and the expression of views through the press. Especially the Government will fully establish the trade

union liberties.

Number 2

REPEAL OF THE MARTIAL LAW

The Martial Law will be repealed immediately after the signing of this agreement. Upon such repeal, a constitutional act will be put into effect similar in all respects to constitutional act No. XXIV allowing the suspension of the articles of the Constitution contained in Act No. XXIV.*

The immediate suspension all over the country of article 5, 10, 12, 20 and 95, of the Constitution will be ordered through a decree. This suspension will continue until the completion of disarmament and the establishment of administrative, judicial and military authorities all over the land. Especially in regard to article 5, its suspension will not take effect in the cities of Athens and Piraeus and their suburbs and settlements. However, especially as regards those arrested up to this date, it is mutually agreed that article 5 of the Constitution is not in force and that they will be freed at the earliest possible time, by issuance to the competent authorities of necessary orders to this effect.

EAM followers who may have been arrested and held by other organizations will be freed as soon as possible.

AMNESTY

Amnesty is granted for political offenses committed from December 3, 1944 up to the signing of this agreement. Common-law offenses against life and property which were not absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of the political offense are excluded from the Amnesty. The necessary law shall be published upon the signing of this agreement. Those who, being under obligation to surrender their arms because they belonged to the organizations of ELAS, the National Citizen's Guard and ELAN, have not surrendered them by March 15, 1945, are excluded from this amnesty. This last provision concerning exclusion from the amnesty will be abolished as having no further justification, after the disarming of the ELAS is assured.

Guarantees and details of the granted amnesty are stated in the draft law attached to the present contract.

* Editor's Note: Act XXIV of the National Assembly of January 1, 1935 states: "In the event of disturbance of, or of threat to the public order, the suspension in full or in part is permitted of the provisions of article 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, and 100 of the Constitution, all over the country or in parts of it, such suspension to be effected through decrees ordered at the suggestion of the Ministerial Council". We must note for the record that this illiberal act which choked every liberal voice and opened the way to Monarcho-fascism (the democratic regime was abolished on October 10, 1936) was put into effect with the shameless excuse that its aim was to "fortify the existing democratic parliamentary regime..." (See preamble of the same Act.)

The Articles suspended by Act. No. XXIV correspond to the constitution of 1911, which is in effect today, to articles 4, 5, 6, on the inviolability of personal liberty, to article 10 on the right of assembly, article 11 on the right to form associations, article 12 regarding the sanctity of the home, article 14 on the freedom of the press, article 20 regarding the inviolability of the secrecy of correspondence, article 95 requiring a trial by a jury of political offenses and offenses of the Press when these do not concern one's private life.

Number 4

HOSTAGES

All civilians arrested by the ELAS, the National Citizens' Guard or the ELAN, irrespective of the date of the arrest, will be freed immediately. Those who may be held on the charge that they are collaborationists or guilty of political offenses, will be turned over to the judicial authorities of the state for trial by the competent courts according to law.

Number 5

NATIONAL ARMY

The National Army, except the professional officers and non-commissioned officers will be composed of men of the classes called at each conscription. Reserve Officers, non-commissioned officers and men of existing formations, who have been especially trained in the new war methods will remain in service. The Sacred Company will remain as it is, as long as it is under immediate orders of the Allied High Command, and will be incorporated immediately afterwards into the National Army, in accordance with the above principle. Efforts shall be made to extend regular conscription all over Greece in accordance with technical facilities and the needs which arise. After the demobilization of ELAS, those men who belong to the classes which are to be called up in accordance with the attached protocol will report to the existing units for their induction. Those who joined the existing units, but do not belong to the classes, being called up will be discharged from the service. All the permanent cadres of the National Army will be judged by the Councils in accordance with Constitutional Act No. 7. The political and social opinions of the conscripted citizens shall be respected.

Number 6

DEMOBILIZATION

Upon the publication of the present agreement, all the armed resistance forces and specifically the ELAS regular and reserve forces, the ELAS and the National Citizen's Guard shall be demobilized. The demobilization and the surrender of arms shall be completed according to the regulations included more specifically in the protocol which was prepared by the Technical Committee and which is attached, duly initialed, to the present agreement.

The State will adjust all matters pertaining to requisitions on the part of ELAS, such things as animals, automobiles, etc., which were requisitioned by the ELAS, will be surrendered to the State, and they will be considered as having been requisitioned by the Greek Public, in accordance with the regulations set forth in greater detail in the drafted protocol which is attached to the present agreement.

Article 7

PURGE OF PUBLIC SERVICE

The government will proceed, through committees or councils to be established by a special law, to the purging of the staffs of state, municipal, community and other government agencies, and of institutions under

state control or subsidy. Criteria for the purge shall be the competence of the employee, his character and morals, collaboration with the enemy or service as a tool of the dictatorship. Employees of the above categories who joined the resistance forces during the occupation will return to their posts and will be judged in the same manner as other public employees. The above named councils will judge employees who participated or who co-operated in the manifestation of events beginning December 3, 1944 up to the signing of the present agreement, The above named Councils may retire according to the law, those implicated in the aforementioned events. Their final status will be determined by the Government which will result from the elections to the Constituent Assembly. Those who by virtue of ministerial decisions have been put in retirement already will submit themselves to the judgment of the Councils mentioned at the beginning of the present article. No employee will be discharged solely on account of his political opinions.

Article 8

PURGE OF THE SECURITY BATTALIONS

The purge of the Security Battalions, the Gendarmerie and the City Police will be completed at the earliest possible moment by Special Purge Councils using criteria similar to those regarding public employees. All officers and soldiers of these units who come under the regulations of the Amnesty law, who during the occupation joined the forces of the ELAS, the ELAN or the National Citizen's Guard, will return to their posts and will submit themselves to the judgment of the Purge Councils, in the same manner as their colleagues. All officers and soldiers of the Units in question who abandoned their posts between December 3, 1944 and the signing of the present document, are put in retirement, their final status to be determined by the Councils to be decided upon by the future Government which will be created by the elections.

Article 9

PLEBISCITE AND ELECTIONS

At the earliest possible time, and at any rate, within the current year, a plebiscite shall be conducted with all freedom and genuineness which shall finally decide on the question of the political regime, all sides to be submitted to the verdict of the people. Also, elections for the Constituent Assembly and the drafting of the new Constitution of the country shall follow at the earliest possible time. Both delegations agree that the Big Allies be requested to send observers to supervise the genuine expression of the people's will.

Two copies were made of this agreement, one of which was received by the Government delegation and the other by the EAM delegation.

At the Foreign Affairs Ministry in Athens, February 12, 1945

The Greek Government Delegation:
L Sophianopoulos, Per, Rhallis,
I. Macropoulos
Tsirimokos

The Delegation of the Central Committee
of the EAM:
G. Siantos, D. Partsalides, El.

The Secretary of the Conference: P. Varsamis

III

THE FULFILLMENT OF THE AGREEMENT

On February 15, 1945, the Central Committee of the ELAS in the following proclamation ordered the demobilization of the ELAS:

Document Number 118.

Proclamation

"Fellow-Fighters,

"The Central Committee of the ELAS announces with deep emotion that after the agreement of February 12, 1945, our glorious armed struggle is terminated.

"Your struggles and sacrifices constitute not only the highest service to the country and the Greek people, they also constitute a positive and universally recognized contribution to the entire allied cause.

"In the hour when everything was dark* "because fear had seized them and the yoke of tyranny was crushing them," the fiery tradition of the Revolutions of 1821 flashed forth and lived again in you. As true continuers of that tradition, you restored the national morale. You hold high the Greek soul. You protected the people from degradation. You maintained order and security in the areas defended by your arms.

"You inspired terror in the conquerors and traitors. You helped the people to establish institutions which ripened out of their own democratic consciousness. You helped with arms and your blood to oust the conquerors and to liberate the country.

"IN your recent struggle you showed to the entire world that the Greek people have no intention of accepting even for a moment any fetters on their democratic rights or any attack against the independence of their country,

"The agreement of February 12th terminates our armed struggle. The hour has now come to lay down in honor your glorious arms. But, your task has not been completed.

"The second great aim of our struggle, the safeguarding of the popular sovereignty and the creation of the necessary prerequisites for the unhindered democratic development of the country, is awaiting its realization,

"We are certain that you will now devote yourselves to the accomplishment of this great aim with the same faith, with the same enthusiasm, and the same discipline which you showed as soldiers of the E.L.A.S.

"We believe that the lofty ideal of the ELAS which made it possible for you to bring to an end your glorious armed struggle, will also be maintained by you in the political struggle in which you will be the pioneers. With such a spirit, we win surely win in the political battle too.

* Editor's note: From the verses of the Greek national anthem.

"United and indivisible in the organizations of the EAM, fellow-fighters in the political arena as in the military, let us close and broaden our lines so that we shall definitely ensure the people's sovereignty, democracy, the progress and the well-being of the land.

"The Central Committee of the EAM and the ELAS, which guided you, and the Greek people who sent you forth to battle and who supported you during the war of liberation, are proud of you.

"A special medal in **commemoration** of your struggles will be made and will be given to all of you. It will be a decoration for your bravery and will be passed on to your children and your children's children as the most precious insignia of service to the country, the Greek people and to universal freedom.

"Eternal Honor and Glory to our heroic dead!

"Honor and glory to all of you!

"Long Live the Greek People!

"Long Live our Greek Fatherland!

"Trikkala, February 2, 1945

The Central Committee of ELAS.

E. Mantakas, M. Hadjimihalis, G. Siantos"

IV

THE AGREEMENT IS VIOLATED

1. The ELAS executed the agreement literally. It surrendered its honored arms, even more of these than was provided for in the agreement, as Mr. MacMillan, Minister of Great Britain, the guarantor of the agreement, stated:

(see his statements to the Athenian newspapers in March 1945).

We all 'believed that this agreement, at least, would be respected and that out sorely tried people could, without serious hindrance, gather up their ruins in the twilight of democratic liberties which this agreement guaranteed. Yet, not even this was accomplished: The illegal arrests continue. The Left-wing press is persecuted and is forced to resort to almost the same underground and glorious life which it had during the occupation. Fighters for liberty are murdered in the streets of Athens or in the dungeons of police stations. Employees of the Government or of private enterprises are discharged for their political convictions but the volunteer forces are not dissolved. The Gendarmerie and the Police are not cleansed of traitors. The National Guard which should have been replaced by the army through regular conscription, is sallying forth with the raging fury to "conquer" the whole of Greece!

The Central Committee of EAM was forced to send the following protest:

Document Number 119.

NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

No. 155

Athens, March 3, 1945

To:

1) His Grace, the Regent, 2) To the Greek Government and 3) To the Ambassadors of Great Britain, the United States and France.

"In the ELAS Central Committee's memorandum 1625, dated February 20, 1945, which was addressed to His Grace, the Regent, and the Greek Government, and in the meeting of our representatives with His Grace, the Regent, with the Premier and with other qualified Ministers, we reported that systematic persecution of our press, the mass arrests of democratic citizens in violation of article 5 of the Constitution., as well as a series of misdeeds on the part of government agents at the expense of refugees and of demobilized ELAS men, - all this in violation of the Varkiza agreement. We also denounced the appearance of armed gangs in the countryside, who, after the demobilization of ELAS, began to terrorize the population, and we drew your attention to the broader dangers engendered by this situation, in the event you might not take immediate and Draconian steps.

"In reply to our steps which we mention above, all the responsible personages and especially the Premier gave explicit and categorical assurances that the required measures would be taken and that the Varkiza agreement would be strictly enforced.

"Yet, despite all this, the misdeeds and the violations continued even on a mere systematic, organized basis and we regret to find ourselves compelled to bring to your attention a series of new events, which, we believe, are contrary to the Varkiza agreement and to the very democratic principles declared at the Yalta conference, In view of this, we deemed it appropriate to bring these events to the knowledge of the Ambassadors of the great Allied powers.

"A - The Left-wing press is not in circulation. Not only do the organs of public order and the National Guard continue their attacks but they also make them more systematic. We mention concrete occurrences which have taken place since February 22 and which represent only a very small percentage in a series of innumerable similar cases. The Chief of Hymietos Security Branch tore up 35 copies of the newspaper 'Eleftheri Ellada', and Koutselis, Second Lieutenant of the National Guard confiscated the package of our newspapers from the news-distributing agency's car No. 33651. The Chief of the New Philadelphia Gendarmerie prohibits the sale in his district of the EAM press, and Stefanakos of the 15th Police Precinct, molested a news vendor, tore up his papers and led him bleeding to the station despite the protests of Supreme Court Justice Shimflis. Bouladjakis, the Director of the 'Soteria' Hospital prohibits the reading of the Left-wing papers in that Institution. The National Guard tore up our papers in the Pankrati and Byron newsstands. The reading of our press is forbidden in all prisons and detention rooms; policemen Rigopoulos of the 15th Police Precinct molested news-vendor Angelices because the latter was selling the 'Eleftheri Ellada' newspaper, and Policeman D 128 told a citizen who reminded him of the Prime Minister's declarations: 'Plastiras cannot do what he wishes. Regardless of what he tells us about this matter we will do what we like.' Policemen K. Loucopoulos of the 15th Police Precinct threatens the news vendors in his area that he will execute them 'on the spot' if he catches them selling Left-wing newspapers; Economopoulos, department head at the Ministry of the Interior,

asked that any clerks who read 'Eleftheri Ellada' and the 'Rizopastis' be reported to him.

"Independently of the Government's agents, terroristic gangs are literally indulging in orgies. Thus, the circulation of our press is not only difficult, but it is impossible and dangerous. Of course, assuming that a citizen succeeds in securing any of our newspapers, he must take 'strict precautions' in order to read them.

"The 162nd National Guard Battalion at Piraeus has absolutely prohibited for the past four days, the circulation of the EAM press, On March 2, an armed group of National Guard members seized the newsstand clerk and took him to the Lefkas Precinct where he was told that he will be executed if he ever again brings Left-wing papers to Piraeus.

"The situation is more tragic in the Provinces. The Patras' news agency was attacked, our newspapers were destroyed, our agent was molested and was forbidden to bring in Left-wing newspapers again. The authorities at Chalkis, Aegion, Kranidi, Kastri-Kynourias, Thebes, Megara and Eleusis prohibit officially the circulation of our press. The local agents in those cities notified the Central newspaper sale agency not to send our papers again.

"B - The arrests continue without the formalities of Article 5 of the Constitution. The arrest of Sorlis, deputy public prosecutor at the Court of Appeals, is characteristic. At Haidari most of ELAS adherents and refugees who return to their homes are arrested and are taken to police stations. We mention a few names from most recent instances: Stelios Faradjis, Yiannis Tosinoglou, Andreas Berberakes, D. Germanis, Georgiou, A, Pantazides, Katina Meli, D. Spyridou, S. Hadjiyiannakou, P. Setanidou, L. Langides, G. Paleologou, G. Fotinos, Zeza brothers*

"C - The reviling in public and the ill-treatment of heroic ELAS people by Government agents and groups of the X 'Hi' and 'Edes' organizations constitute a daily occurrence in the streets of Athens.

"D - The situation in the countryside takes a dangerous turn and day by day it becomes more threatening as the result of the activities of the National Guard and of irresponsible terroristic groups.

"The arrests, disgracing of people in public, the molestations and pillage, the plunder and murders by traitors to the nation and collaborationists in cooperation with Government agents, are indescribable. The responsible agents of EAM, the men who led and who were guiding spirits of the liberation movement, are persecuted with special rage. Thus an unprecedented terrorism is being unleashed in Patras. Hundreds of democratic citizens have been arrested, among them Lalakis Roufos, the lawful Mayor and the eminent doctor, Thrasyvaulos Constantinos, who is the Secretary of EAM. The offices of the newspaper 'Eleftheri Achaia' were destroyed. An ELAS' Second Lieutenant was slain with a knife at the seashore. Not only does Mr. Djordjopoulos, the Prefect, not take any measures against the terrorists, but, on the contrary, he supports them. In the area of Thebes, a) In the Darmari village, men of the Mountain Brigade injured democratic citizens; John Karabitsis, a 95% incapacitated invalid of the Greek-Italian war died from the beatings he was given; b) In Kapareli, the same thing was done by Mountain Brigadiers to Evangelos Marinis, the totally incapacitated invalid, who died from the beatings he received, many were arrested, including G. Katsaros, the secretary of EPON. c) Armed traitors to the nation spread

unimaginable terrorism at Nihoraki. They captured many, and all the authorized members of the EAM, and took them to Kriekouki, d) The villages Moustafades, Chlebotsaris, Brassi, Vathi, Halia, Shimatori, are suffering under the heel of such types as Dourdouvalades, Baboura, Tsiraki and others who, during the occupation, indulged in orgies against the people. e) Many were arrested including the agriculturist and secretary of EAM G. Moschos, Mayor Stavros Saratsis and many other responsible members of the organization. D, Macris whose brother was executed by the Germans - died from the beatings he received, and P. Photiades is dying. f) In Karditsa, Thebes, national guards together with local traitors executed Ch. Berdos and I. Christodoulakis.

2) The same situation prevails in Livadia. National Guardsman P. Djavaras, heading a 15-man gang, captured three men and three women refugees from Athens, and after beating them cruelly and raping two women, they tied the hands of ELAS member A. Panagopoulos behind his back and executed him. On the same day, February 16, the same gang razed the village of Scripio {headquarters of the British Military formation), seized 35 citizens and confined them in detention rooms where they tortured them horribly. Another armed gang is active in the outskirts of Lokrida-Livadia. In Livadia, the situation is unbearable. The National Guard is indulging in orgies at the expense of the heroic people of the city whose dead in the resistance movement totaled 612. Many have been seized, including the responsible members of the EAM.

3) The Military unit at Kriskouki is humiliating, reviling, insulting, plundering, maltreating the return ELAS people and refugees. High-ranking officers like Colonel Mihos and Major Mavroidis were vulgarly insulted. At the Powder Works, Gazoultas, Officer of the Mountain Brigade, told Gousa, the ELAS **Officer**: "I think nothing of you. Say, if you were not old, I would have fixed you! The food given to ELAS adherents for their sustenance is seized before they reach their homes without exception.

4) Armed gangs are active in Iavrio, Karatia, Marathon, Liossa and Liopesi. These gangs are headed by Liossis, S, Pesti, Geokeous, Chrysoula, Kakari and others - persons known in that area as traitors who during the occupation wore German uniforms. R. Priftis of Kouvariotis, corporal of the Mountain Brigade, raped Anthoula Lioumi at the point of an automatic and attempted to rape the fiancée of Forest Inspector Hanis. Citizens who were freed are being arrested and are disappearing.

5) In Halkis, the National Guard seized by force the offices of EAM and on February 25th attacked the people with hand grenades and automatics, wounding many, and are making arrests on a wide scale. Among those arrested were cadres of the EAM and former Prefect N. Kapnitsis, engineer. In short, Halkis is reliving the days of the German occupation. The well-known traitors in the German service, Kakaras, Naras, Linardos, etc., are again active. Their chief is Lizos, Captain of the Security battalions and now Captain of the National Guard.

6) In Argolido-Corintbia, the National Guard, staffed with Gestapo tools, declared a real war of annihilation against the EAM organizations. In Argos, Nafplio and Corinth, the attacks on besieged city blocks occur every day. The prison Acronafplia, which was used by Metaxas, is again receiving honored fighters in its damp dungeons. Among those arrested are: Doctor K. Grigoropoulos, Administrative Representative of the P.E.E.A., the secretary of EAM, Doctor N. Bletsis, the ELAS members, Lieutenant of the Gendarmerie G.

Tsaousis and Ch. Poulos, teacher.

7) The Command of the Group Divisions in Macedonia (ELLS) conveys the information that the members of the Mountain Brigade who landed in Salonika on February 12, flooded the streets singing the song "The Son of the Eagle" (Note: The song of the late King Constantine), tore up the EAM newspapers they found in various public places and in the streets, forcing them to shout "On to Sophia", and tore up the flags of the Soviet Union as well as many American flags.

On February 22, they continued their terroristic acts in cooperation with certain civilians. They threatened to execute anyone who sold EAM newspapers and beat many unarmed ELAS people; they destroyed EAM offices and tore up flags of the Soviet Union and the United States. The portrait of Marshal Stalin was trampled upon. The above happenings were verified by committee of the Missions of the Soviet Union and the United States of America who came to Salonika, Messrs. Avramides, Military Commander, Modis, General Administrator, and Levantis, Minister of Social Welfare formally expressed their regret. According to public opinion they are the instigators.

The people of Salonika and the countryside are aroused and it is only thanks to the presence of mind of demobilized ELAS men and the persistent attempts of our organizations that no incidents occurred.

8) The situation is no better in Volos, Demobilized ELAS men are arrested on the charge of being "accessories to murder", for "usurpation of power" and "making illegal arrests", "detaining persons illegally", and simply because "they served, during the period of the National Liberation struggle, as judicial examiners and members of the ELAS court-martial". It is for this reason that Messrs. A. Dasos and Th. Dikitos were arrested and that warrants were issued for the arrest of L. Coulodimos, Lieutenant-Colonel, V. Apostolides, Judge of the Lower Court, S. Coskinou, lawyer, and D. Papanastasiou, H. Ardinoti, etc. According to our information I. Kremales was arrested for similar reasons here.

It is well-known, however, that the ELAS conducted a hard and long war against the invaders with a guerilla army of tens of thousands of men; that it had under its command a great part of the country; that at that time there was no Government in Greece, but only quisling tools of the conquerors; that the necessity of conducting the war and maintaining order made imperative the functioning of Court Martials. The Court Martials were established in accordance with an order of the ELAS General Command and functioned on the basis of Greek Military penal legislation, of the common penal law; also, on the basis of the regulations, originally put into effect by the General Command and, subsequently by the PKEA, the organization which acted as a defacto Governmental and Administrative authority in all areas under its command. Moreover, the ELAS was recognized as the National Force of Resistance (July 1943 agreement) by the Middle East Command and by the Greek government-in-exile (Plaka- Livanou and Caserta agreements). On the other hand, representatives of the resistance forces participated in the Greek Government, which, after being established in Athens, recognized the ELAS as a national military organization, and its branches (such as National Citizen's Guard) were maintained as provisional administrative agencies, as also was done in the case of the Guerilla's Commissariat (ETA), Finally, the last agreement of Varkiza recognizes the services of ELAS as a National War force and consequently persecutions and arrests like the above are utterly unacceptable and cause amazement. Also, L. Argiris was arrested in Volos on

the charge "of usurpation of power", simply because he was a member of the Lebanon Command, that is, in the days of occupation, and because the people elected him a member of his village administration to replace those appointed by the Quislings. Every day and without any excuse at all, democratic citizens, as the journalists I. Momakis, and M. Crousounis, are arrested. Many arrested are charged with carrying arms illegally during the occupation!!! Organs of the National Guard destroyed Soviet flags and photographs of Marshal Stalin. The people's arch-executioner Major D. Kiriazes, military Commander of the EASAD, moves about freely. The gang of brigands of the notorious Souria is carrying on its infamous activities.

9) National Guardsmen acting in violation of a specific clause of the Varkiza agreement disarmed regular officers of ELAS, who were demobilized, and only the calm of the latter and their high character prevented grievous incidents.

10) During the driving of the Zervas forces out of Epirus, one thousand unarmed hostages were kidnapped, who, in violation of the Varkiza agreement, are still held in the detention places of Corfu.

11) Still more serious, is the incredible but, unfortunately, true report regarding the re-establishment in Volos of a "Security Committee".. It is not necessary to recollect sinister memories which the activities of this Committee during the August 4th regime left to people. The consternation over its re-emergence on the morrow of the Varkiza agreement and of the Yalta Conference is easily understandable.

"E. These violations of the Varkiza and Yalta agreements and the misdeeds of the Government agents are a necessary and logical consequence of the unacceptable fact that both officers and men of the Security Battalions and of the Special Security such as Morfis, the torturer, Panoliaskos, Papageorgiou, Papakiriazis of Volos and others who were held by the former Government at Camp Goudi, with an Englishman as head of the camp, not only are free today but have enrolled in the National Guard or in the Gendarmerie and they continue their work of persecuting the fighters of the national resistance.

"F. While the Varkiza agreement clearly provides for the cleansing of the State agencies from collaborationists and elements of the 4th of August dictatorial regime, nevertheless, collaborationists and adherents of the 4th of August started on unprecedented persecution against the public employees whose crime is that during the occupation they fought the enemy and his agents in total disregard of any kind of danger. This persecution constitutes specifically a flagrant violation of the 7th Article of the above mentioned agreement. The letter and spirit of this agreement provide, as the maximum penalty, the placing of involved persons on the retirement list when in the Special Council's opinion there has been participation or co-operation in the December events. The relevant law regarding the enforcement of the Varkiza agreement has not been published. In consequence, all employees should be allowed to remain in their posts until the time when the act of placing persons on the retirement list is published. At present, however, the Varkiza agreement is being directly and indirectly violated. We bring to your attention a few instances: a) The Varkiza decisions pertaining to the retirement of State employees are still valid in the case of the TTT, (Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone Employees), the Ministry of Communications and the Ministry of Transportation, b) Definite discharges mainly based on the pretext of absence without leave were instituted ten to twelve days ago.

This happened in the Ministries of Communications and of Transportation where over 100 employees have been discharged up to now. In the Army Fund organization in the TEBE, in the SGK Pension Fund Bureau and in all the insurance departments, c) Employees are placed on the retirement list on the basis of the law S.R. 120 of the Metaxas dictatorship, and on grounds of 'unbecoming conduct', as for instance, is the case at the Comptrollers' Council, d) Mass transfers of employees are taking place. Although these transfers constitute in reality cases of persecution of the employees, they are justified as being purely routine transfers. The above measures are at variance with the Varkiza agreement and are directed against democratic citizens, cadres or plain members of the EAM or of the trade union movement, many of whom were persecuted by the conqueror and his native agents. The persecution is being made by men with a bad record for collaborating with the Germans and Italians and the traitorous Governments as well as by elements of the 4th of August.

"G. Prelates like Ioakim, the Metropolitan of Kozani and Antonios of Elia, who in the days of the enslavement, reviving the brilliant tradition of the Church, were found at the head of the embattled nation, animating and urging it on in the Holy War against the invaders, are confined in monasteries and are tried even by such traitors as Bishop Spyridon of Jannina.

"H. We heard with amazement that the Council of Ministers passed a 'Law on measures regarding Order and Tranquility' and that it has approved a law which allows the operation of court-martials in other areas of the country also, 'in case this may be deemed expedient for reasons of interest.'

"From all the above mentioned facts and from a multitude of others, the enumerations of which is not possible for us, one concludes that not the Constitution nor the Greek Laws nor the Varkiza agreement were enforced by the Government as required. The democratic liberties, so solemnly proclaimed through the Yalta agreements, are far from being considered as re-established, since even the safety of life, honor and property is in danger. This situation cannot but create frightful restlessness among the people, who are rightfully asking themselves if by signing the Varkiza agreement the Government had as its true aim making peace with or merely disarming ELAS and surrendering the people, unarmed and unprotected, to the revengeful fury of the *collaborationists*.

"These are the reasons why we considered it both appropriate and imperative to bring to your attention all the above, in the conviction that the necessary measures will be taken and that analogous steps will be taken in order to terminate a situation which, if prolonged, will not be without serious and wider dangers for the country."

With highest esteem!

For the Central Committee of the EAM

D. Partsalides, Secretary

2) Also, the Central Committee of the EAM presented the following memorandum to the Minister of Justice:

Document Number 120.

1. Many ministers, in defining the **Varkiza** agreement, enforce Law **120/1936**

and place on the retirement list many democratic and Left-wing employees without the concurrence of the service council as provided for in Varkiza, where it was expressly mentioned that even those employees, who had been placed on the retirement list before the aiding of said agreement, would be referred to the proper councils.

2. Besides other things, freedom of the press also means freedom of circulation of the press publications. The Government has not ensured this freedom; Government agents are hindering it by force, also organized groups of civilians are doing likewise. Vendors and buyers of the Left-wing papers are equally in danger. **There** are acts against the freedom of the press - committed by Government agents - as well as omissions (failure to protect the circulation). The Government should inflict disciplinary punishment on policemen, gendarmes and National Guardsmen, who are guilty of such violations, as well as on their Commanders, and it should enact an especially strict law defending the circulation of the press.

3. Instead of this, a law was published prohibiting the circulation of proclamations, a clear violation of the constitutional principle of the freedom of the press.

4. Insults, unjust attacks, etc, against the returning ELAS adherents are taking place continuously on an organized basis, without any hindrance or punishment.

5. Arrests without a warrant are a daily occurrence. Usually, the warrant comes after the arrest and the beating. A protest for arrest without warrant constitutes a cause for a more ruthless beating in the **respective** police station. It is certain that violations of Article 5 of the Constitution have always occurred; however, the Government must deal strictly, especially at present, with such violations. In fact, the entire Varkiza agreement is permeated by the desire that the political persecution of citizens, under any pretext whatsoever, be avoided and that the "door" of so-called "public clamor" for such persecution and other similar inventions of the police, be hermetically shut.

6. This abolition of illiberal laws was promised by the Government in the Varkiza agreement. Despite this, the notorious law requiring a "certificate of social opinions" is fully enforced under the form of "certificate of national opinions" etc. It would be possible to put an end to the above tactics only if severe orders were given to all agencies (Military and Political).

7. But other factors show that the situation is tending to take the form of a general persecution of the National liberation movement on the one hand, and of an arrogant triumph of "collaborationism" on the other. The main and characteristic point is the persecution which has been instituted of presidents of communities, members of popular courts and members of court-martials of ELAS on the charge of "usurpation of power". Thus, for instance, the lawyer Dasios was arrested in Volos for having been a member of a court-martial etc. Also, the lawyer Papadopoulos was arrested in Athens - the charge against him at the 7th Judicial Examination Bureau that he had been.... a witness at the trial of Kalfa, the Prefect of Evrytania.

Wherever the national revolution prevailed (in three fourths of Greece) it abolished the Quisling authorities and established new administrative and military authorities. The broader sanctioning of this situation (decisions of

the Joint Military Command ELAS-EDES with the participation of representatives of the Greek Government and the Middle East Allied Military Command, Summer 1943) has a secondary value to our mind. The existence of a defacto political authority in Free Greece, especially after the P.E.E.A, was formed, constitutes the fundamental fact. The persecution therefore of the leaders of the National Liberation movement on the charge of usurping authority or any other charge constitutes an a posteriori solemn recognition by the present government of the legality (even of the exclusive legality) of the validity and the national status of the Quisling authorities, since the active participation in the fight for the liberation of the nation is considered a punishable act.

8. Second manifestation of the persecution of the National Resistance Movement is the persecution on charges of murder against the fighters of the national resistance struggles who during the occupation "executed" well-known informers, tormentors, traitors. Such acts of "'taking the law into one's own hands" were recognized by the public conscience as well as by the Papandreou National Unity Government as constituting special phases of the battle against the conqueror and his agents and, consequently, cannot be considered as criminal acts. Consequently, in order to check such persecutions or sentences, a law should be enacted, waiving punishment in instances when the person appearing as the "victim" shall be proven to have been a tool of the conquerors. If the "political motivation" of an offense is considered as grounds for reducing the severity of the punishment or for exemption from punishment, in that case it is inconceivable that the "national" purpose, which furthermore, was spurred on by the conscience of the whole world, should not constitute grounds for exemption from punishment. Public opinion in liberated countries looks with amazement upon Greece as a country where resistance fighters are persecuted, not for assistance to the enemy but for resistance against the enemy.

9. In conjunction with the above, it should be pointed out that the Monedas case presented another facet of the question. The judges rejected an objection of invalidity based on the fact that the defendant was accused of an offense committed before the 3rd of December and which, consequently, is not subject to the exceptional legal procedure established for offenses of the Penal Law which were committed after December 3, 1944. On the other hand, they ruled out a question pertaining to the patriotic activities of the plaintiff.

Consequently, it is imperative that the question be faced from both its legislative and the administrative aspect to inspire a broader spirit of conciliation and impartiality in the entire judiciary body (judicial examiner) presiding judges, public prosecutors, etc., so that from the moment of his arrest the plaintiff may be confronting judges and not embittered persecutors.

Athens, March 12, 1945

(On behalf of the Central Committee of EAM)

The Allies are asked to intervene

The above mentioned steps proved futile. The reactionary Right is doing everything to estrange our country from the Allied anti-fascist bloc. The acts of fighters for freedom are given a penal character, are branded as crimes; these freedom-fighters are sentenced by the courts of a free and supposedly anti-fascist state. Those who collaborated with the enemy, who stand as war criminals not only before the Greek conscience but before the

conscience of all other Allied peoples, are represented as heroes. The political leaders - most of them - justify the crimes of the Quisling ministers on the ground that they tried, as they say, not to help the conqueror but to uproot Communism, These are excuses which bring to mind Goebbels' attempt to split the Allied coalition and which betray a measure of ingratitude to those who contributed, together with our other Allies, to our liberation. The Central Committee of the EAM, true to the Allied cause, had asked (on December 6 and December 30, 1944) the intervention of the allies. At that time it thought that the December conflict was a matter which affected directly the entire allied cause. Now again, the Central Committee of the EAM, after the Yalta agreement, which orders the uprooting of every vestige of fascism from the countries which are being liberated, felt obliged to denounce to the Allies every fascist attempt against the liberties of the Greek people. It must be understood that the Yalta agreement does not only stipulate the right to a democratic life. The Yalta agreement orders this democratic way of life. Besides being unnatural, it is at the same time impermissible that the liberty and the self-determination of peoples, assured by the Yalta agreement, should end in fascism. The Central Committee of the EAM, true to the cause of the Allies, and in view of all these reasons, sent the following appeal to all Allies:

Document Number 121.

NATIONAL LIBERATION (FRONT)

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Athens, March 12, 1945.

Appeal to the Ambassadors of

- 1) Great Britain
- 2) The United States of America
- 3) The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
- 4) The French Republic

Your Excellencies:

"The signing of the Varkiza agreement was greeted both by the Greek people and the allied peoples not only because it was to put an end to the sad events of December but also because it was to pave the way for the smooth democratic development of our country.

"The faithful enforcement of this agreement by both sides would, of course, constitute the basic prerequisite for the attainment of its aims. Unfortunately, while we fulfilled totally all our obligations, as was officially recognized, the Government has not done the same on its part. The result was that the original optimism of the people was succeeded by disappointment and a serious concern over the internal peace of the country and over its future.

"Through our memorandum 155; dated March 5, 1945, to the diplomatic representatives here and through our relevant demarche to them, we reported a series of concrete flagrant violations of the Varkiza agreement. Supplementarily, we are denouncing the following to you:

"A. National Guard and Units of the Security Battalion, acting under the nose of the Government and with the toleration and cooperation of **Government** officials, unleashed a general persecution against the Resistance Movements

High ecclesiastics, like Ioakim, the Metropolitan of Kozani, and the representative of the fighting clergy in the Central Committee of EAM, Antonios, the Metropolitan of the National liberation movement in Peloponnesus, professors of the highest educational institutions as A. Svolos, Professor of Constitutional law at Athens University, chairman of the Political Committee of National liberation and former Finance Minister of the National Government; the Academician G. Georgalas, Professor at the University, President of the United Pan-Hellenic Youth Organization and member of the EAM Central Committee; the professors of the University of Athens, P, Kokkalis and A, Angelopoulos, Ministers of the PEEA, the Dean of the Technological Institute M. Kitsikis and Professor Papastrou are being retired from their positions. A number of leading cadres of the resistance movement in various areas as V. Roufos, Mayor of Patras, and National Councilor, the leaders of the Prefectures of Achoia, Euboea, Corinthia etc, were arrested and thrown into prison,

"The impeding of the circulation of our press continues. Newspaper vendors are being beaten. Purchasers of newspapers are arrested and maltreated. Newspapers are being torn up. News-stands are looted and all this in spite of Government promises and orders. Despite the Government's pledges, many innocent people are held in the camps. The hostages of Africa and Corfu have not been released and arrests without warrants continue,

"The situation is even worse in the countryside. Armed gangs of collaborationists and traitors to their country, in cooperation with agents of the Government, have unleashed an unprecedented terrorism. Hundreds of democratic citizens are being arrested, maltreated, reviled in public and executed. Everywhere the offices of EAM organizations are plundered and destroyed. State authorities prohibit by decrees the circulation of the Left-wing press.

"Officers and men of the ELAS who surrendered their honored arms are abused, maltreated and even executed by organized gangs of traitors and by agents of the State. All those who took part in the resistance increment are persecuted, under various pretexts, by the state itself. Officers, members of the ELAS court martials, citizens and members of the organization for Self-Government are accused of having usurped authority for their own purposes. City fighters are accused because they executed traitors, and, generally, the entire political regime which was created in the regions liberated by the ELAS and which constituted the only national political authority in Greece, is being persecuted. An unprecedented blow was struck on March 9 against the national and the Allied cause by the death sentence of the patriot M. Monedas who is accused of having executed two traitors during the occupation. Monedas was a patriot who carried on great national activity during the occupation, and who had been sentenced to death by a German court martial for that activity. Avheris, another patriot, was also sentenced to death although the trial did not prove the charge. At the same time, tormentors of the people, tools of the German SS as Exarhos and Mandilaris are receiving all possible leniency: the former had been sentenced to death, but the Court recommended that a pardon be granted him, while the latter was sentenced only to 20 years imprisonment.

"B. According to article 5 of the Varkiza agreement, the National Army should be composed of draftees of conscripted classes, A whole month has elapsed since the signing of the agreement, and while all of the ELAS army has been demobilized, yet, in reality no National Army is being formed. Those who joined the National Guard voluntarily have not been released. Nor have

the officers and soldiers of Security Battalions and the Special Security who have been conscripted to the National Guard since the December events. ELAS guerillas who belong to the conscripted classes are not admitted into the National Guard. Certificates of 'national opinions', - to certify that their possessors do not belong to EAM - are required of all those who came to the "National Army". Up to this minute no post has been given to any ELAS officer, while, on the contrary no collaborationists have been purged from the Officers' Corps, with the result that many officers who have been traitors to the nation and war-criminals, as for instance, such well-known tormentors of patriots as Morfis, Panoliaskos, Major Papakyriazis, Lieutenant Colonel Kentrox, etc. still remain in service. The Mountain Brigade which, according to the Varkiza agreement, should be demobilized, is being developed into a division of army instructors.

"C, The state machine and the security units are being purged not of collaborationists and dictatorship elements, according to the Varkiza agreement, but of followers and members of the National Resistance organizations in accordance with the recommendations of traitors to the nation. Contrary to the Varkiza agreements, officers and gendarmes who served in the ELAS, who now wish to re-enlist in the military service, are asked to produce as justification for their petition, a certificate to the effect that they do not belong to the EAM and a certificate from an officer stating that he took them forcibly to the mountains. Instead of beginning intensely constructive work to face the pressing problems of the people and the reconstruction of the country, all efforts of the State are directed to the creation of an anti-EAM and police State. The Government, instead of abolishing every illiberal law, in accordance with the first article of the agreement, is not only keeping in effect the law of the dictatorship and the period of occupation, but is passing new illiberal laws. Thus, with the forming of the Under-Ministry of Security, the government decreed law similar in many ways to the infamous anti-constitutional law about measures of securing the social regime,' which with the very heavy penalties it imposes on mere trespasses of police regulations establishes supreme police authority.

"D. The manifestation on every occasion of the hatred of the extreme Right for our great ally, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, is characteristic. Insignia and emblems of the Soviet State and pictures of its leaders are torn up. Anti-Soviet slogans are given wide circulation. Contempt for this ally is publicly expressed. Irrespective of the danger to the nation which is contained in manifestations of this sort we think that from the Allies' point of view, too, it is impossible to overlook the danger incurred by poisoning the allied atmosphere in Greece.

"The above are sufficient to characterize the situation which prevailed in Greece during the December events. True to her history, Greece was the first country to rise against the barbarous fascist invaders and wrote with the blood of her children the epic of the Albanian (Greek-Italian war) and of the National Resistance and gave herself as a holocaust to the common allied cause. Now, following her liberation, she finds herself again in the claws of the fascist clique of collaborationists and traitors. In Greece, today, while affiliation with the National Resistance Movement constitutes a cause for merciless persecution, torture, and even execution, affiliation with the traitorous Security Battalions of the quislings constitutes a scroll of honor which elicits rewards in the form of promotions, state pensions and other compensations. A mere comparison of the collaborationists' trial, in the course of which treason was justified and glorified, with the trial of the

patriot Monedas, in which the defendant was deprived even of the right to relate his patriotic activities during the years of slavery, suffices to make clear the sad plight of our land. The present situation confirms the fear expressed by the people prior to the December events regarding the survival in political life of the clique of collaborationist traitors to the nation and of the dictatorial circles. This also explains last December's desperate popular resistance.

"The situation which prevails in Greece today guarantees anything but pacification of the country. On the contrary, it is pregnant with the dangers of creating a new chaos. A one-sided government, and especially the present government, which was formed during the conflict and consequently bears strong anti-EAM marks cannot possibly be expected to take the required courageous measures and to inspire confidence in the entire people.

"We are firmly convinced that with a representative Government it is possible:

"1) To establish stable internal peace in the land by safeguarding and entrenching the citizens' democratic liberties, justice and equal political rights.

"2) To mobilize all the moral and material resources of the country to meet the people's hardships, which are steadily increasing, and the economic reconstruction of the country.

"3) To see Greece authoritatively represented in the future international conferences and

"4) To conduct a genuine plebiscite and free elections for the Constituent Assembly.

"We believe that our great Allies will not remain indifferent to the present development of the situation in Greece which is contrary to the declared aims of the Allies and creates dangers of new internal and external complications. It is for these reasons that we are addressing ourselves to you, asking that an inter-Allied Committee be formed, as provided in the Yalta agreement, to study the situation in Greece and to take measures which will ensure the democratic liberties of the Greek people too, an indispensable and urgent prerequisite for the attainment of genuine results in the plebiscite and the elections.

"With the conviction that this petition of ours will be accepted, we remain with exceptional honor,

"For the Central Committee of the EAM,
D. Partsalides"

FINIS