

Walk-Over prices \$8.95 to \$12.95

Continued from page 21 Russia in the

clashing in the Mediterranean.

The historic background for Russian exthose of Russia and Great Britain are now two or more national interests clash, as national limits. Difficulties arise, also, when pand beyond normal or natural or necessary plied to a nation which uses its power to exfirst, but the phrase is more accurately appolitics in looking out for its own interests

powerful intervention of the Soviet Union. oning upon the determined, intelligent and the Baltic or the Mediterranean without reck again can any decisions be taken in Europe, is back in Europe proper, and that never claim to all who have eyes to see, that Russia Poland and, above all, the move in Italy proence. The unilateral decisions with regard to the Balkans be left clear for Russian influranean. It is no secret that Stalin has insisted again be strongly entrenched, and, last but not least, the Dardanelles and the Mediter-Persian Gulf, the Baltic where they will once lets: Port Arthur which they once had, the

pansionism, at least since Peter the Great,

comes down to a striving for warm water out-250 years ago, when put in its simplest terms,

tine capital of Constantinople as early as 860, and it has never ceased to be a coveted Russian fleets were attacking the Byzan-

This is no place for such a study, but some illuminating parallels could be drawn between the careers of Stalin and Peter the Dreams of a Muscovite Empire

1917, but now Russia is on the move again. Marmara and the Bosporus. A temporary pause came with the Bolshevik Revolution of mand it gives of the Dardanelles, the Sea of prize, not so much for itself as for the com-

and southward. perial power, through expansion of her influence, and perhaps her territory, westward as one who lived to make Russia a great imformer, but (like a modern Peter the Great) the Marxist, the revolutionary, the social re-U.S.S.R., but now picked up again. History may yet look back on Stalin, not so much as Communism of the first two decades of the through the centuries, broken only by the thread of that imperial dream has run of a world empire centered on Moscow. The Great in the late 15th century had dreams Russian word for Caesars) like Ivan the Dukes of Muscovy, whose traditions and ancestry-linked them to Byzantium. Czars (the tical and national sense, the heir of the Grand Great. The Communist leader is, in a prac-

2/13/

the British who throughout the 19th century considered Russia as their most formidable enemy, and for whom the Mediterranean is wife if the life. But the British are very much in the picturepower, at least for a few years to come, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire is no more. France will not be playing the role of a great French, for that matter) and the old Austro-Hungarian Empire after 1870. However, Turkey against the Russians—as did the was with the British (who constantly backed by the Turks, and the chief clash of interest The key to Russian designs on the Medi-terranean was always the Dardanelles, held

a vital life line.
Every time the Russian bear stretched a

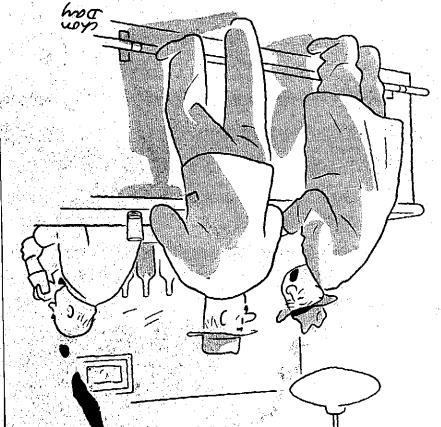
paw in the direction of the Dardanelles, the British were in the way. No one has a keener

staggering losses. which sustained her so long in the face of

and it was the hope of getting that prize other Allies promised her Constantinople, and willing for war in 1914, Indeed, the and the Dardanelles that she was prepared partly because Russia wanted the Bosporus the Caucasus and southern Russia. It was terranean is a vital one. It is the outlet from the Black Sea, the pathway to the riches of impulse that drives Moscow toward the Medisense of the importance of the Mediterranean to the British Empire than Prime Minister Winston Churchill. All these dry bones of bistory are bound to come to life again. The

ma

"I dare you to carry me outside and say that!"



Serbian nationalism, backed by the Russians against the Austrian Empire, was the spark that started World War L. Pan-Slavian

some national independence in the 19th and

Orthodox Church of Russia and the Czars which helped the Balkan people to achieve

was the encouragement and support of the

vik "eclipse" of more than a score of years. It

again beginning to operate after the Bolshe-

the existence of long-term factors which are

Russian policy. It is an acknowledgment of

ing written here is in no sense a criticism of

the Balkans and she always will. What is be-

defeat at the congress or conference on the able to expect another Russian diplomatic

the expense of Russia. Would it be reason-

Balkans after this war?

historic and geographic impulsions are be-ginning to work again. The Montreux Con-vention of 1936 gave Turkey the right to vention of 1936 gave Turkey the right to fortify and control the Straits for twenty which drew the new map of the Balkans at fortify and control the Straits for twenty

Termites,

Russia has always played a vital role in

the early part of the 20th centuries.

bombed Balkan cities, supplied Lend-Lease material to Marshal Tito, and some com-

sians. We and the British are the ones who

insistence that the Balkans be left to the Rus-

Among the open secrets of the war is Stalin's

war unfinished, Russia began entering the Mediterranean through the Balkans and Italy.

However, with Turkey still neutral and the

promised a third of the surrendered Italian

something to keep in mind. Have they not,

Mediterranean after this war, and that is

marine of importance in the Black Sea and

will again be a Russian navy and merchant

years. One may well ask whether Stalin will wait until 1956 for a revision of that treaty. Back in the 1830s, the Russians had the sole right of passage for their warships. There

fortify and control the Straits for twenty

as President Roosevelt announced,

navy or its equivalent?



THE END there will be no enduring peace in Europe. they are doing, for without understanding and understand the Russian case and what alarm. The important thing is to be realistic friendly, there is no necessary cause for With the new Russia, conservative and

the mercury mines of Spain, Russia has to be taken into account. India of Hong Kong, an Arabian oil line or British Empire, from the Mediterranean to the secongest power in the world—is going to be Soviet Russia. She lies astride the whole The strongest European power-perhaps

instinct of the British people to range itself against the strongest European power." Fisher once wrote that "it is a deep political The English historian Professor H. A a potential clash of interests is in the offing. ponestly unless you recognized the fact that British. You would not be thinking straight or The Mediterranean it goes almost without saying is vital sphere of interest to the would be stronger than the Russia of today. Great Britain and the United States that politik, it could only be the combination of for on a crude, mathematical basis of Realmust play in partnership with the British, want to beat them, then to be logical you to pur her cards on the table, and they are very high cards. If you are one of those who In short, things (are pick) up in the Mediterranean Russia, at ias a beginning

High Cards on t

ent role from the one if 66-3691 ni ba what comes after, althou o regime is totter-to play its role in robably a differtiog, si woosoM bas 'gai Russian aid to the Loysters during the Span-igh Civil War. The France regune is totter Gaulle was Soviet Russia, And do not forget power to send an ambassador to Ceneral de Laval! Do not forget that the first great munist Russia and it was signed by Pierre present and a potential ally for the future. France once before had her treaty with Comstrack; Italy is a political triumph for the all but regained; the Balkans are under or may not be irresistible. The Black Sea is south and west will be insistent, and it may thetonic inevitable The impulse toward the sented here. The progression is traditional, You can argue either way, but you cannot argue away the facts which are being preter for personal opinions and predilections. alarm in London and Washington is a mat-Italy and the Mediterranean should cause The extent to which Russia's new role in

also, goes for Poland, Rumania et al.). about his religion being attacked (which, Democrats. No one need worry, for the time being, about a Marxist revolution in Italy, No Catholic need worry, to begin with, than that of the Catholic Party, or Christian Communist program is more to the right Economically and socially the Italian government for months.

Great Britain had been suggesting such a correct statement that the United States and justified, despite Secretary of State Huil's half of Moscow for this development was credit which Mr. Vishinsky claimed on behappened under a face-saving formula. The sed janw si Jand that have government to the king and Prince Humbert and Join a position parties of the Committee of Na-tional Liberation abandon their opposition takes the lead. They demand that the six opthe whip. The Communist Party suddenly is brought into Italy and immediately cracks Italian Communist Ercoli (Palmiro Togliatii), Badoglio get Soviet support. The asture, experienced ex-member of the Comintern, the to exactly the same thing) and Marshal king (or Prince Humbert, which amounts in France, Spain and North Africa. The game are simple and logical, as they will be So the reasons for playing a conservative

good would a weak Italy be as a future ally? experiment that fails. In any event, what sented with the example of a Communist vantage of Russia to have the world precircumstances. It is in no sense to the adpave no chance of success under present tion, And they know that Communism would in disorder, perhaps chaos, certainly a revoluto be imposed from above and would result to orthodox Communism, which would have

someone else was actually competing for it— mentally and in many other ways unsuited only one bidder, driving a hard bargain. Now know that the Italian people are temperathey were like men with an article to sell and Savoy is a powerful force in Italy. They lowers always admitted) that the House de wonderful could have happened. Before this, From the Italian viewpoint, nothing more know (what Count Carlo Sforza and his folwith another on a diplomatic basis present, at least-is a Communist Italy. They last thing they would care to see-for the Indeed, for their purposes, a conservative, cohesive, ordered Italy is a necessity. The

It is the first country of Europe that the Al-

shores of the Adriatic Sea, opposite the Balkans, and the Sicilian Straits to the south.

Italy is the buffer state guarding the western

world power, the Mediterranean is vital.

Remember that in their renewed role as a

would you or I make if we were italians?

The Russians were not being altruistic.

a defeated foe, but as one nation dealing not as a military commission giving orders to they did not want to see a Communist Italy. They dealt with the Badoglio government, Victor Emmanuel and Marshal Badoglio? support the conservative elements and that Why wonder, therefore, if in making their bid, the Russians should have accepted King The Russians made it clear that they would the economic rehabilitation of the peninsulal worth an effort and a high price. who would be, after the war, in a position to supply coal, oil and in other ways help in are keeping their eyes. It is a prine well which all the satellite and neutral nations policy called for a strong, united Italy, and test case for Western Europe; the spot upon lies began to free from the German yoke; the

to be their friends, whose Mediferranean And here were the Russians, who wanted supplies of coal and oil. be dependent upon Great Britain for vital

the peace in the Mediterranean, and would divided Italy, that would never again threaten the British were working for a weak, perhaps worst, they had come to the conclusion that in their bitterness, inclined to believe the and cynical in their political thinking, and,

to be friendly and helpful. Being realistic another and a very great power was prepared politics suddenly discovered to their joy that Those Italians connected with the government or in any way involved or inferested in staffed AMG (Allied Military Government). -to the American and Britishunhappy, nerve-racked people went-quite fore the invasion. All the complaints of an were not living up to the promises made being the populace in the liberated zone and the natural bitterness that such activities cause. The Americans had the task of feedwere bombing Italian cities and stirring up Americans and British were the ones who tages and he made the most of them. The the ones, to deal with, He had great advanentrenched in power and therefore they were and Marshal Badoglio were by then strongly Communist realism, the fact that the king contacts in Italy. He accepted, with typical his orders; he had authority and he had his smoothly behind the scenes, Vishinsky had The Soviet delegation worked quietly and

play an important role in Italian affairs. stand that Free France could not expect to and from the beginning was made to under-René Massigli represented the Free French, tant" job, in addition to their other duties. their ministers in Algiers, Robert D. Murphy and Harold MacMillan, to this "unimpor-Russia. The Americans and British appointed United States, Great Britain. France and four principal members, representing the ruffled, The Advisory Council consisted of the waters of the Mediterranean were un their dissatisfaction evident, but outwardly, scenes the Russians were beginning to make in part under Russian pressure. Behind the Russians anywhere in sight. Finally, an "Advisory Council on Italy" was decided upon, Months passed, the original commission was expanded into the present Allied Control Commission, and still there were no

months at the latest, we would be in Rome, where dynastic and institutional problems could be settled by the Italian "people." exercised by the military commanders—and mat fine on political control in Italy was An Allied Millerty Commission was hastily set up in Brindisi to act as liaison, and, from

Political Control in Italy

sians say they were not consulted. eral Eisenhower had no objection. The Rusand implicitly recognizing his authority. Genthe British insisted upon dealing with him would have preferred to ignore the king, but at this late stage to say that the Americans king and Badoglio? It is revealing no secret as we did with Admiral Darlan, or with the Italy. Should we deal with Badoglio, alone, lies taced their first political problem in in fleeing from Rome to Brindisi, and the Al-Pietro Badoglio and a few others succeeded Victor Emmanuel, Prince Humbert, Marshal Italy. As we invaded southern Italy, King at least, to a share in the military defeat of and that therefore Moscow had some claim, sian front, where they were all but destroyed, as many as ten Italian divisions to the Rusexcitement we forgot that Mussolini had sent were purely Anglo-American affairs. In our and the invasion of the Italian Peninsula, The North African and Sicilian campaigns,

understood here, that it deserves close study. revealing and important lesson, and so little them. What has happened in Italy is such a and British (above all, the British) to beat on the table and challenged the Americans has for the first time laid his cards openly The same is true of Italy, where Stalin

economic, political and strategic. in the Balkans are not territorial; they are Russian. That simply means Russian interests Bessarabia and Bucovina are considered to doubt the sincerity of that statement if signs on Rumania, and there is no reason announced that Moscow has no territorial demania proper, Foreign Commissar Molotoff the Soviet army crossed the Pruth into Ru-And so it went, and so it will go. When

efforts to get Fiume after World War I. along with President Wilson, blocked Italy's Russian Foreign Minister Sazonov who, Bulgaria against the true Slavs. It was the and at other times Moscow backed a greater was once a pillar of Russian foreign policy,



AHAIGHI MOTONITADH

FOR MODERN LIVING

ADMINIA ACCIMINA

NUNTHITIESASSA

Caswell-Runyani

Remember the name

zmeli Bnitzeneini tzom edt

to anil wan yllotot a Britaffo

reputation for quality by

the war we will enhance our

TeftA . 7091 earlis sisena subea

Buirutachum seviesino rot

alone is not enough to make

boow suil ful niged ew

aal a arbii ugo

After that noblework is done,

enutional east

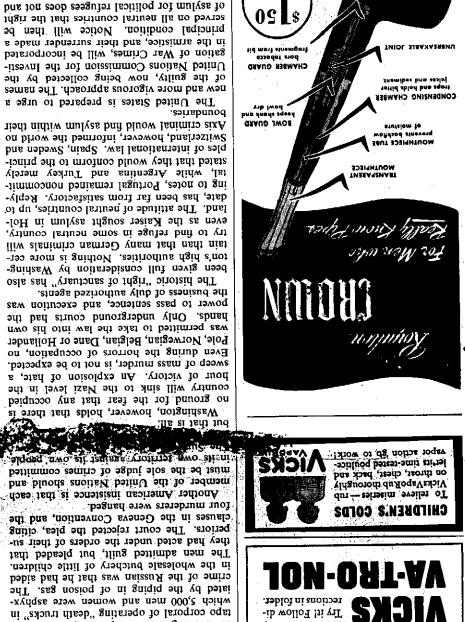
We've made a grand name

Yielding to German entreaties, the Allies Court in Leipzig, promising that justice right to try the accused before the Supreme

would be done.

procedure laid down by the Russians in the The United States, in plain, indorses the prisoner at once, instead of holding him. be both his right and duty to arraign the demanded an immediate trial, with outery and revolt the result of delay, then it would to his military security. If public opinion empowered to consider the case in relation the American viewpoint, should and must be in his area? The commander, according to and notoriously guilty of infamous cruelties quisling or some German officer provedly of the Republic, President Ebert begged the of an advance, should capture a notorious Pleading that it would mean the overthrow

or the British or the Russians, in the course the surrender of nine hundred terrorists.



म्देववरंस्वर मेर्हेट दीगर्हेट

2014 24ใจอักษาย

effectively relieve distress of head colds.



Try it! Follow di-

(!amit ui basu prevent many colds from developing if helps clear cold-clogged nose and makes breathing easier, (NOTE: Also helps It soothes itritation, reduces swelling,

Yearto-nol up each nostril promptly, to assitsiv

hands. Only underground courts had the was permitted to take the law into his own Pole, Norwegian, Belgian, Dane or Hollander sentenced to four years. Even during the horrors of occupation, no sweep of mass murder, is not to be expected. hour of victory. An explosion of hate, a country will sink to the Mazi level in the

"insufficient evidence,"

superior, but the court shrank from admitjustified as obedience to orders from a supported the British witnesses in every de-tail. The sinking of the hospital ship was IsoCanCarrier

ship, but of firing on the lifeboats in order

not only accused of sinking a British hospital Two other submarine commanders were

sinking a hospital ship, escaped punishment by pleading that he had acted under orders

marine, admittedly guilty of torpedoing and

subjected. The captain of a German subtor the "indignity" to which they had been

the court set the generals free with apologies

The state attorney refused to prosecute, and

treatment and deliberate exposure to typhus.

prisoners of war, all murdered by inhuman

eral were arraigned for the death of 3,000

fluenced by third parties, have often an ex-

"of so tender an age, even when not in-

was freed on the ground that boys and girls

gian town, accused of torturing children,

imposed. A German chief of police in a Bel-

turned, and sentences of two months in prison

insensibility. Verdicts of guilty were re-

strung up by the thumbs and beaten into

witness testified to having been starved,

slave at purely military tasks. Witness after

treatment of prisoners of war compelled to

the whole proceeding as a "shameless farce."

and Belgian missions withdrew, denouncing

cases had been heard, the British, French

and continued until July 18. After twelve

some eighteen months after the armistice,

defense. The trials began on May 23, 1921,

neys acted both for the prosecution and the

composed the court, and German state attor-

nesses to Leipzig. Seven German judges dred, and sent legal representatives and wit-

bicked torty-nine cases out of the nine hun-

Three of the cases dealt with the inhuman

A licutenant general and a major gen-

the German Admiralty.

travagant imagination.

"escaped," and soon thereafter the Allied hour, it was revealed that the prisoners had courtroom under police escort. Within the Howling mobs roared their disapproval, and the British mission had to leave the consequence, the two lieutenants were each thorized the destruction of lifeboats. As a ting that the German Admiralty had au-

missed the rest of the cases on the ground of continue with the trials, and the judges disand British, furious and disgusted, refused to ing a day behind bars. The French, Belgians victed men had been paroled, not one servrepresentatives learned that all the other con-

sure if world opinion is to be guarded against tion of the fact that justice must be swift and ther delay: An agreement based on recogniagreeing on an exact procedure without fur-Nations back up pledges of punishment by officials, will happen again unless the United What happened in 1921, say Washington

Rules for a Just Retribution

Hitler and the little Hitlers, Himmler and shelter Axis gangsters. to neutrals that they will not be permitted to as an armistice condition; and stern warning have suffered; the surrender of all criminals ing with the beasts under whom its people law; each nation to have a free hand in dealthe tortuous, technical creep of the civil outrage and revolt; military tribunals and not

mand that justice be swift and sure. than the tortured millions of Europe, dethat the people of the United States, no less hundreds. The vast reader response showed ficial sources, and enough sworn material was on hand to have run the list up into the based in each instance on affidavits from oforders, Collier's series, the Cully, was out of their own mouths and by their signed gauleiters, all stand convicted of vilest crimes the little Himmlers, the quislings and the

THE END

German government dodged a demand for quest for the Kaiser's extradition, and the At that late date, Holland refused a reinto effect on January 10, 1920. was taken until the Treaty of Versailles came

answer for their atrocities, but no action the same cry that the guilty must be made to

World War I. Then, as now, there was

Kaiser and his criminals went free after

rorists will escape punishment, just as the

well in advance of the armistice, Axis ter-

United Nations agree on plan and procedure

action is the deep conviction that unless the

of asylum for political refugees does not and

served on all neutral countries that the right

in the armistice, and their surrender made a

The historic "right of sanctuary" has also

Washington, however, holds that there is

Another American insistence is that each

as "live targets for rifle practice," and a Ges-

civilians; a Storm Trooper of using citizens

sonally supervising the massacre of 3,000

Specialists in Mass Murder

lie, and the indictments were clearly drawn.

defendants. The trials were open to the pub-

of recognized legal ability represented the

a distinguished major general, and officers

The military tribunal was presided over by

any appearance of a drumhead court-martial.

shal Stalin, every care was taken to avoid

tried without delay. Under orders from Mar-

the Kharkov survivors that all four were

city was retaken, and such was the temper of

sian collaborateur were captured when the

Kharkov trials. Three Germans and a Rus-

A German captain was accused of per-

cannot apply to indicted criminals.

What has spurred Washington to decisive

Collier's for October 7, 1944

mandos we trained under. If you are lightly

of his coat to set warm. That's a trick we When he was very cold, walking, he took

Rangers picked up from the British Com-

filled with tears to match hers when I ac

from a hiding place in her sleeve drew out

wine first, and answer my questions second."

Friendly Italians helped him in dozens of

American-looking wife and child, taken in

the pictures he always carried of his very

vince them with his dog tag, his medals, and

he might be a Fascist spy. He had to con-

he was an American soldier. They thought

wouldn't believe him at first when he said

tole so well that native Partisans he met

songs, not American once. He played his street. He hummed and whistled Italian

bashful about using the latrines in the open

along on my toes. If I do, it's because I

They say I walk with a crouch, and bounce ging along sort of carelessly, looking down.

stride and now walked like a civilian, jog-

He had got rid of his brisk, straight Ranger

him he pronounced perfectly, without accent.

words and sentences which the Italians told

and oiled his dark hair. He had memorized

days later, he could get by anywhere as an Italian civilian. He had grown a mustache

tains to the coast—where he hoped to get a

civilian clothes, money and directions to start him off on his hike through the moun-

ian had directed him, Shunstrom was given

only one lost of bread and a piece of cheese

the eight days since his capture, he had had before he was out of sight of the camp. In

Shunstrom ate up the bread and salami

On Starvation Wages

house where they'll help you. Good luck!"

mountains," he directed me. "Go to a certain

Now go. Go along this road up into the

of bread and some salami for the Americano.

me. Food? Well, yes. "Quick, Maria, a loaf me to move on. No, he had no clothes for

The Italian was very frightened. He told

have just escaped. Will you help me?"

the door-not, thank Heaven, a German.

"I am an American prisoner," I said.

a house. An Italian answered my knock at

I walked, slowly again, about thirty yards to

the work detail moved away from there. Then

on something clse. I hid in some hay until but that's what he did, as if he had his mind

and went on outside. I know it sounds queer,

I didn't have to say anything. He ignored me

was just gathering wood for our fire, but

I was getting ready to play dumb and say I

the size of a pocket matchbox.

At the house to which the frightened Ital-

By the time he reached the coast twelve

decp." Twice he was lost.

their Radburn, N. J., home.

ten-lira note.

poob rof_ KODE

ot"stoH" Switch from

(An idea worth tackling:)

(Figure when you had a cold)

and cheer ...

dn puets nox

If they made

somit and the me brand ... smoke Why not make

em your regular

in the Italian manner. He drank wine like water and held his fork in his fist. He wasn't He broke his bread and ate his spagnetti practiced so long how not to walk like a soldier, and how to walk without making

Too Reslittle for Comfort of T

Structive raids, a bine all the strings on foot, executing new and ever more dealong precarious trails by car, or bicycle or mountain hideout to another, according to the movements of the Germann, hurrying sans, week after week, changing from one Shunstrom moved about with the Partiուջրէ,

strom, "but I think we did some damage that "We didn't wait to take count," says Shunscoping into the wreckage.

senger cars derailed, burning . . and sounds indicaung that more and more cars were teleblazing pieces flung up into the sky . . pas he saw was an engine torn to bits and the when a German troop train came through, the explosion was something to see. What of the tunnel. "It was a fine clear night, and then planted dynamite charges at the mouth bid near the tracks until it was dark and on a 35-mile hike to a railroad tunnel. They Soon Shunstrom and aix Italians set out

you more ammunition," he said, "you've got to let me see what kind of fighting you're ing kind of man. "If you want me to get Shunstrom, however, is a seeing-is-believ-

ground fighters. emmunition parachuted down to his under-

the captain would use his influence to have Shunstrom get back to Allied lines. He hoped The Partisan chief was eager to help

So why don't you come up and join us in a way. Your dashing captain knows that now. brandy. You're going to lose the war anysitting here together drinking good German ture, but he doesn't seem to mind. We are "His silver stars didn't save him from capnow," Berlin Sally would say over the radio. Shunstrom, is with me in my apartment was using him as a gimmick to discourage German short-wave broadcasts. Berlin Sally A Partisan big shot had heard of him on

coast up into the mountains. whose fighting groups fanned out from the for a Ranger. He took up with the Partisans, reached the coast, so he did the natural thing, Shunstrom couldn't get a boat when he

said, "Do you think I prefer prison?" Pascist if that was how he felt, and the man Fascist?"" Shunstrom asked why he was a tains. Suppose you should run into a bad not be on this open road. Keep to the moun-" 'Well, then,' said the Fascist, 'you should

truth, that I was an escaped prisoner." fore he could draw it. So I told him the and I knew I could clip him "He challenged me," Shunstrom says, "but he kept his tifte on his shoulder, the dope, out for a bicycle ride with his girl friend. Once he bumped into a uniformed Fascist clothed you move faster; that warms you up.

KWIZ pack of passed you a

(Anistoos they felt soothing)



(Your throat was thrown for a loss)

a cold! you caught football game s tA

Till someone

saw me, and I thought my number was up. There was a German in that barn and he then ducked inside. sticks of wood in my arms just to look busy, mingled with them a while, gathered up some working around there on a trash detail. the fence. Some American soldiers were slowly to a barn maybe thirty feet beyond way, hid in a gully for a minute, then walked I went under the second fence the same me in an American uniform. looked right at me without seeing me-and

another direction, as bored as ever. He had bearings, I saw that the guard was gazing in tect me like that. When I dared to take my beside me. It was great to have them pro-Italians gave no sign but went on working

is beances; there syswis now ode tud it bib she was beautiful. I don't kind

We had a wor

diera up into the m a medical and the 46 bolastini vitorq a medical and the 46 bolastini street We captured the town a feetler dust food bim back into the seconds and the bim a feetler than the bim of the b smoots the leader populated of a month of the way way and book mide. Baying year story factory, What we didn't need we distributed "We were after shoes that time, and the said."
"We helped ourselves to the stock of althou

Another night Shumbons and two bun-dred and fifty Partness swooped down into a valley and took over a German budd town.

struggled through snow four or five feet ing lightly, sleeping in barns. Sometimes he He walked from 7 A.M. 10 8 P.M. daily, estwas giving away a little fortune. My eyes for two lire a day," said Shunstrom; "she "I knew that woman worked for bribing." With money. One Italian workingwoman looked at him with pity, and With cigarettes ... "I had several hundred cigarettes hidden all over me-very handy ways. With wine. "When I stopped to ask directions, they'd always bring out a glass of of my head before they realized their sais was killed, and a bullet passed within an inch

recognize our truck fired on un Our driver

anything; we were going to pass through German towns, it was a good guaraich, that

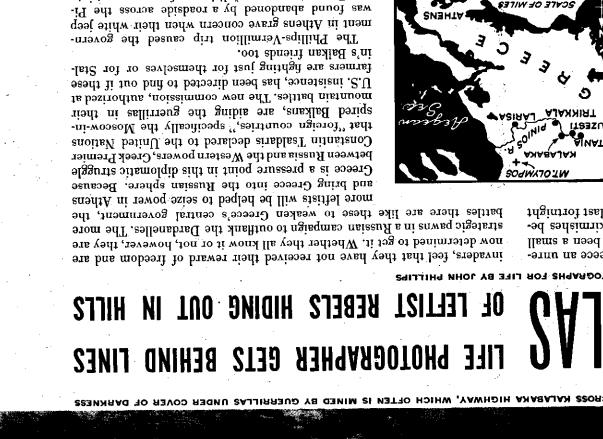
into my hands and they told me to expect

burying themselver, more oc. less, in the grende and a pistol

strom hid themselves in a phony grain truck,

One night four Italian Partisses and Shun-

sairef emos :: boog col-nisig



ble and made the rest of their journey by muleback.

developed that they had left the jeep after motor trou-

guerrilla territory to rescue them (see p. 16) but it

nios River. An army expeditionary force was sent into

PINIOS RIVER serves as battle line for TONZESTI BINIOS BY ANATEAN

government troops and mountain guerrillas.

the United Nations Assembly became sufficiently

tween the Greek army and bands of peasant guerrillas. But last fortnight war with few casualties, and it has consisted mostly of skirmishes beported war has been going on for more than a year. It has been a small In the barren, mountainous country of north central Creece an unre-

The guerrillas, most of whom fought the German

pression in 1821, they call themselves antartes (rebels).

tember. Like their forefathers, who fought Turkish op-

George II was returned in the plebescite last Sep-

government they despise, even though Greek King

Phillips photographed, this is a rebellion against a

the wild, scraggly country where the rebels operate. To many of the rough farmers and shepherds

Disregarding the warnings of Greek government of-ficials, Phillips crossed the Pinios River (right) into

month and slipped behind the lines of the guerrillas.

pondent Robert Vermillion, borrowed a jeep last

John Phillips, together with United Press Corres-

in this remote part of Greece, LIFE Photographer

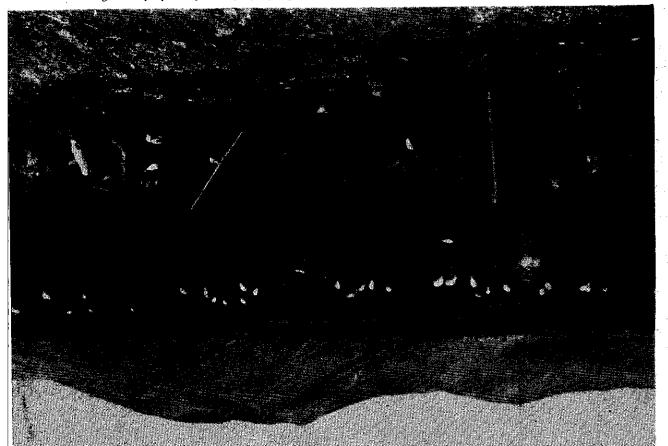
to see if these conflicts are affecting world security.

worried to appoint a special inspection commission

In an attempt to discover what really is going on

CHEEK COFKKIL

A GREEK GENDARME LOOKS ITOWARD GUERRILLA TERRITORY ACROSS KALABAKA HIGHWAY, WHICH OFTEN IS MINED BY GUERRILLAS UNDER COVER OF DARKNESS



active near Mt. Olympos, legendary home of the gods. mountains, where bands of antantes have been very operations. In the background are the barren Ossa

priest are shown resting, are the type of country REMOTE PLAINS like this, where shepherds and a



rilla regions and medical attention is even scarcer. the last five years. Teachers are very searce in the guerfrom the first teacher to be stationed in their village in

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

VILLAGE LIFE goes on despite civil warfare. Above: a visiting guerrilla leads the outdoor dancing during a wedding festival. Below: children learn their lessons





er Politis (lest to right), pose in Athens before starting out.

only when they think they are safe The men drift down from mountains

could import eigarets, flour, oil, shoes, cloth, salt, aspirin gent economic blockade. No one living in the region guerrillas through the mountains, had imposed a strinthe yillage. The army, realizing the futility of chasing we had passed out all our cigarets, which were scarce in tants crowded into the general store to stare at us. Soon When we reached it, many of the village's 600 inhabiwe set off in a beating rain for Kastania, 10 miles away. was beyond our scope, we left it. Climbing onto mules, in front of a hani (rural roadhouse). Since the trouble River, Then he reported: "Our jeep came to a dead stop passed the last government army outpost at the Pinios On his trip into guerrilla territory, Phillips quickly

muleback to search for a guerrilla leader (see next page). the next day Phillips and Vermillion set out again on ment troops near Louzesti, a village four hours away, so news arrived of a skirmish between antartes and governlocal tyrants to fight anyone accused of leftism. Then ban ereinoristockloo to shand bearts it salt gaigned whom Phillips talked were bitter against the government, in villages in daylight but live in the mountains. All to tivities. Otherwise the antartes seldom show their faces the free food and drink always on hand for wedding fesnght), a usual guerrilla practice so they can get in on os) yash for a wedding scheduled for the next day (see opposite page). They had come from the mountains to be versation over a bottle of ouzo, fiery Greek whisky (see artes, who drifted into the store for a few hours' con-During the evening Phillips talked with several antor sulfa drugs.



mules and donkeys for the rest of his mountainous journey. AFTER THE JEEP QUIT, Phillips took to slow-footed



CIVIL WAR TAKES A VICTIM

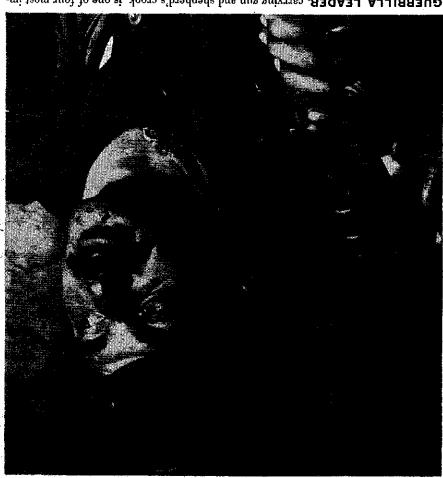
Phillips finally locates one of top guerrilla leaders and sees a peaceful man who was killed in a battle

In his search for the guerrilla leader Phillips threaded his way for four hours through the pitch blackness of night to the town, of Louzesti, where an antare sentry stopped him. He was taken to a dilapidated farmhouse and left there for the night in the care of an old widow, who fed him on corn bread and goat otherese. Much later he was awakened by the entrance of an oily-complexioned, mustached man dressed in a discarded British topcoat (left). This, finally, was one of the important guerrilla leaders. The man, who called himself Skoufas, one of the important guerrilla leaders. The man, who called himself Skoufas, ast down before the fire and outlined the aims of his armed band: 1) withdrawal of British troops, 2) formation of an all-party government, 3) a general political annesty, 4) purge of collaborationists within the government, 5) free elections.

The strange interview over, Skoufas said that he could not guarantee Phillips' safety back to his jeep at the han because the army might try to murder him "in order to blame the antantes and start reprisals." Actually government troops were at that moment searching the countryside to "rescue" Phillips and his companion from the guerrillas, because their jeep had been found abandoned in guerrilla territory.

doned in guerrilla territory.

On this trip Phillips ran into a typical incident of guerrilla warfare. A government force had flushed a handful of guerrillas near the town of Lonzesti and, after exchanging shots with them, began lobbing shells into the town. One shell exploded 40 feet from the open window of a villager named Apostolo Rasto, himself no guerrilla but a peaceful citizen. His death and funeral (see Opposite page) were one small tragedy in a greater tragedy of the Greek civil war.



GUERRILLA LEADER, carrying gun and shepherd's crook, is one of four most important antatte chieftains in Thessaly, where much guerrilla fighting centers. He goes by name of Skoufas, who was one of the heroes of Creek wars for independence in 1821.

HTAN MIA KI' AYTH FYNAI

E TIC YVVAINER BEV HITOGHAMANA KALANIA KANIA KANIA KANIA KANIA KANIA K

ουνοι:

Το διεκομε ο Λώρρυ Μπετλειμ.

Τι αυτό δεν είνε αλιθεία,

παρά είνει τιποτα. Η γυνατα δεν
μπορά ει με τιποτα. Η γυνατα δεν
μπορά ει με τιποτα. Ανε μπορεί να
χαροιταρισθη με τιποτα. Λεγε παο
χαροιταρισθη με τιποτα. Λεγε παο
χαροιταρισθη με τιποτα. Λεγε παο
χαροιταρισθη με τιποτα. Ανε
χαροιταρισθη με τιποτα. Ανε
χαροιταρισθη με τιποτα δεν
χαροιταρισθη με τιποτείνε τιε,

Το ποροιταρισθη τι και
χαροιταρισθη το
χα

There by it, if depopulitify all anythic and anythic part, if the property of the property of

the control of the co

ρυ έφυγε άφιο το χέρε του κι' έπεσε σπάζοντας τε θορυθο πάλρο στο του μικρού φοπεζιού. Επίσρεσες λομείος του πυρακρούτηκες και πόνε χώρασες λομείος ο Μπέτλεμε τον παλη ο ρίλο του:

Από ορίλο του:
Απέτκε τάφα καιρός που παν πρετηπια και λ γες μέρες πόχω καλη στο του:
Από στο πάχω και λ γες μέρες πόχω καλη στο πάχω καλη στο Κορισεί, πολό, πος δεν τόμαθα, πος δεν τόμαθα, πος δεν μου τόπε κανένας.

— Είνε μειά όλοκληση | στορία που θεν τόμα θεν τόμα συν κατιμής στορία πας το κατιμής το κ

"Heady Alvo Burrspon deno ruly d
voyoprind only, Even yopolomo Auvountiemen mean. Kadebarou orid
yobesto justi, Shoe, Keept, yurit uch
he elya indicat Even ruleepannind
mer to yomischormyno, moe ol urra
yer gende, indicate Even ruleepannind
mer teaturo, indicate teaturo provint
ese control original prov

υτου, γραστερική το σχουσίνο πουλι "- Εστο-βέπει ο Λορφοι Θα όποι στο αγογόσουσε τη φικερία κου, - Τολφικο, λοιπον, σ' ούτη τη ψυ γολογική σετρική μπήκε μέσα ή - Ποτά είνε συτή πλλι; - Οδό Λωρροι είναι ακυπόρο ρος με λίς εξασστες σου Ποτά αλ. Αι η Αθλέες γάτου είναι αντή που σραμανισμές το άποιος της μεγάλος, στερικό πλομοι αθρό είχαι, επτικό, ποθροιαμίο, Τά μέταια της μεγάλος, στερικόσους, εγώ το έχαρο χρομός, σο άποιπολου το έχαρο χρομός, σο άποιπολου το έχαρο χρομός, σο άποιπολου το έχαρο χρομός, σο έχαρος σορικόση, χεί-λη της, σύνοπατας το φολή μια δε-πλη στεριά όποι Ιστομεγέδη μαριγαρι-τορέχα δεντάσια, ήταν σα να σου-κείνας δεντάσια, ήταν σα να σου-κείνας δεντάσια, ήταν σα να σου-κείνας ελληστές πος καί θά σί άγρα-κείνας ελληστές πος καί θά σί άγρα-κείνας ελληστές πος καί θά σί άγρα-κείνας ελληστές πος λεγους, θέλησε μυς.
χθή ο Ποράδεισος.
χθή ο Ποράδεισος.

— 221 λαιλά, Εκοήν γελώντας ο Μπέτλειμα. Στό Εγινες ρομαγητικός ποιητής πρώτης τάξεως, θλέπω ποά για που δηλώνει πώς Εξακολουθής για του δηλώνει πώς Εξακολουθής για καλά με

νείνου τος δπος ζητών-τος να ξεφύγη το αγκάλισσμα τῆς ροίμπος της τοτίπους το κομοσάς, σού έρεθ ζε τόν πόθο γ, απλώσης τα Χέρια σου θοπευτικά το αντό καί τό δεργολυγιερό σύνολό της τό α. γίσται ερωτευμένος για καλά με την άκορδη: Χωρίς να δωση προποχή σήλν εί. ρογική αύτή δισκοπή ο Κέλλερ συ

ψεγγα υσημμετρικό, σού προταλούσε την επιθημία να φησρήγης.
Στάθημα για λήγο, άπαθε και πάλ γι το πούρο του, που στο μεταξύ είχε σάλσει κι εσινέχισε.

Σημαθηκά, στ άντικουμά της επα: «Είμα στίς ενά φονείν της ενά φονείν της επα: «Είμα στίς ενά φονείν της επα: «Είμα στίς ενά φονείν της ενά φονείν της ενά στοργανικό που υχάθαν κοντά της. για ά μπορό η κευνών, του γυπάρος το τοργανία, όπο διόν της, που φονηκον όποκουπας με μετά κυγτημένη τεχυικά άφελεια τη φούστα της παθολογικός τέφολε το ενα πάνο στ' έλλο, τροθέσνας με μετά κυγτημένη τεχυικά άφελεια τη φούστα της που διητρέμετε γά σάκ λέω με το μικρό σας δυσμα γιατι μετάρχεται πιο δολικό—είνε καπας πού, μα λέπτιζω πάς ή και λώσυνη υσας δε θα σάς έπιτεξυτη να δυσσης που διονενειτεί πτες όπου χρεοδοτις με μια φονή του χρεοδοτις με μια κου θα του που με μια κου θα του που και παθητική, που θα του χρεοδοτις με μια φονή του δυσση που θα του κονεκει πάς δυστυχισμέ με με φονή του χρεοδοτις με με με φονή του και παθητική, που θα του κατα παθητική, που θα του και παθητική του συσσει που με με με φονή του συς παρος που χρεοδοτις με με με φονή του συς πασος που που παρος που παρος που παρος πασος που παρος που παρος που παρος που παρος πασος που παρος πασος που παρος που παρος πασος πασο

χρεώσεις! ψιθύρισε με μιά φωνή τόσο γλυνεια και παθητική, παθ θά μποραύσε να λυγίση και πετρα... — Και ποια ήταν ή δυστυχία του άθρου αύτος, του λουλουδενιου— σύπος το περιγράσεις—πλάσηματος; ρόσημε ο Μπέτλεμ, γημάτος περιέργεια.

- - Περ' εργος κι' έγω, θπως και ού τώρα, γα δώ πῶς μπορεί γάταν ενότης σιένο εξα τόσο ἀθρό και θείο πλόσμα και τι είδως ὑπωρο-ἐρισθεσιασό πος βιανν στη διά θείση της ο΄ δ.τι δηπασε θα μπω. ρούσια να ττς φαιώ χρήσημος. Μ θείση της ο΄ δ.τι δηπασε θα μπω. ρούσια να ττς φαιώ χρήσημος. Μ ένα στηγηρεστίκα χαμόγιος τόσε στά χράλη ή κυρία Μαρλεν Βοίμητη χεν, άροιξε τό τοσητάκι της, ξόγω, λε επό μένα ξα μπριγιοντέγιο δοί χτολίδε Ένα τήλατη γελη ο΄ βροχιόνι Αφρίπα με ξού μεγάλος σικω. Λοφρίπα με ξού εμεγάλο μοργορος πρώτα με εύχαρίστησε θερμά γιά τήν πρόσμα μου: »-- Ξέρω πος δεν κάλετε ποτε Εδάμεσα επό εγεχύρο. ΄ ΄ Ωστόσος ε

tt. Εξερεξα τα γυρίσω στο Τραφείο μου, τα ρουλησιο μι απληστά τ' δι ραμα πούγε dφ σει το περασια τη άπο αυτό, ν' άγοπολήγου τη μορφή της, τὰ απαρδά ζηποντας τα ματέγο τείχο ποιά άγοιξοδα ήταν πός είνε άπειξθυχθή σε μέ, ποιός μου την Ε

» Η πόσουση της με γέμισε χα-πά. Όχι δεβοια γιατί είχα καί την δλάχιστα αφιφιδολία για τη γιστή μοδόνης τών εύκαιρία νά δρε

κοντά ο' αύτό το αθέριο πλά. ε, που ή παρουσία του τρικόμιν. δλο το είνε μου. Τής πρόσφερα γάρο, ἀπάμαμε κι' οι δυό καί

τοιγόφο, ἀπάφαμε κι οι διό και της είπα.

— Μα σάς δώσο είνα μφος των χρημάτων από τώρα, άν εχετε αλόγκη αμέσως, και γα τα κοσμημάτα. Αλόρο το προί θάμαι, κιστειών ο θέση και σάς μετρήσω το ποού κου δετεί και περισσότερα όν εχετεί και περισσότερα δου εχετεί και περισσότερα θου εχετεί και περισσότερα δου εχετεί και περισσότερα δου

*Καὶ γιὰ νὰ δικακολογήστο την ἀναθλη, ιπόσητα μευ προσθεσα. Δε Θας τα φελαξιο στην τράπεζα. Καὶ σος τα φελαξιο στην τράπεζα. Καὶ κουρικό, γιὰ την πας διπέρωνη τρά μετοχιαν χριαζέσται μια γναμάτευσι είδ. Θι Καὶ κάθησα νὰ πῆς έτου μέταν για τρατε, προκολοθία. » Σημα το τράπες με μια μεγαλο. μούδωνε τ. χέρι με μια μεγαλο. μούδωνε τ. χέρι με μια μεγαλο. πος νε χέλλη που έτραμον από πό σος νε χελλη που έτραμον από πό Θο, το παχολο, κρινέγιο κρέσκι. Θι το παχολο, κρινέγιο κρέσκι. ξι παδχά έτσιμάσει μόρουν. Αρ- κήθηκε νά πάρη καὶ τη μιά και τό κήθηκε νά πάρη καὶ τη μιά και τό κλλη και της και τό και το κήθηκε νά πάρη καὶ τη μιά και τό κλλη και τής και τό και το κλλη και τής που μάρουν. Αρ- κήθηκε νά πάρη καὶ τη μιά και τό κλλη και τό και τό και τό κλλη και τής και τό και τό κλλη και τό και τό και τό και τό κλλη και τό και τό και τό και τό κλλη και τό και το και τό κ

... Τουλάχιστον την απόδειξη είνα, "Αθροπος είμαι κοι δε αθριο... "Αναίμπησε τα δυό της χέρια στό Πρόφείο μου, Εσκυφ σε τρόπο που στό κόλπωμα τοῦ κοραάζ διέκρινα την αλαθέφατρο τοῦ υπήθους της κιλι μούπε:

» Σάς...

της και μούπει.

** Εξα παρακολώ... Κι' άν είνα να πάθει» τίπανε ός αφρια αξις, ό τόσο καλός, ό πολύ εύνανι κάτερος άπι διι μού αντηγου πός είναι ός καταστροφό μαζί σας.

*Προσ το χέρι που μούνεινε και τι έχουσκίλησα με συγκιγησι. "Υ επερα τη συγκίλος με συγκιγησι. "Υ επερα τη συγκίδος άς την πόρασ

στειλό.
Στόθηκε λίγο, πήρε ξνοι τοέρο 3
κόμα κολ πυττάζογτος στα μάτια
το Μπέτλεμ, ξουνέξισε:
σα δλη τη μέρα κι βλη τη γούτα
μέ την άδημονία, με την άγωνο
τομοίου, "Ερποπε ξτοι τ' βλλο προι κι την ξαγων
τομοίου, "Ερποπε ξτοι τ' βλλο
προλ, "Ηρθε πυμενη μ' ξινα πιό θ
ξαντρίκ φύρεμα, ποδύειγικ πλαστικάτερο τό θείο της αδιμο. Της δίλο
κα τι λέπτα κοι μισά παθειξί, παμολλοβίης τόδ δοικτλλάδιολ, γυρίζον
τος τ' αδιλα κασμήματα.
μηκ κυτισξε μ' Εππληξι και μοϋ

TAPISI - NEA YOPKH

νά πάφουμε ει»

πό "Οταν κάθησαν στην παράσσα του άριστοκρατικού "καφενε ου κι άκραφον τά παιγάρα τους ό νεαφός ένακόμης. Ντεφοσέ άρχισε την ά-

ανακαντη Ντεφοσέ αρχισε την αφηγηρή του!

— "Οπος ξερεις, φύπατε μου, η μονη μευ απασχοληση, δε τωρο, ή του, το γλέντι. 'Ο μποματάς κεριζές ευσυχός, αρκετά με τα μη προυργεία που, δοττε μπορώ να τουχοχήζο, από τόραι, ενα μέρας απου γλη βική μου. 'Ωστόσο, συτή η ή γλη βική μου. 'Ωστόσο, συτή η ή γλη βική μου. 'Ωστόσο, συτή η χλη βική μου. 'Ωστόσο, συτή η χλη βική μου. 'Ωστόσο, συτή ή χλέγτι, είμαι μηχανιάζο, που έχουμε δυτίθετες γινώμες. 'Κι' έπει είν, λέγτι, είμαι μηχανιάζος, που έχουκηθώ και ατήν, προπτική. 'Ετσ. λοιπόν ενα άραϊο προί, μου δήλωσε, καθαρά και ξαστερα, πος εξεινηθή και τόσο τρομέρο συ πορασίσου να δουλέφο. ...

—Δέν είνε και τόσο τρομέρο συ

τό... Γι λές, παίδι μου; Μὲ φαγτά.

στηκε, τστές θμένα, νά στραθώ.

ναμισι πάνω στά οχέδια και στούς μαθηματικούς στολογιαμούς: Σάη μίτος δολοκημούς μίτονες, άπολογιαμούς: Σάη μίτος δολοκημούς μίτονες, άπολος; Εξη μίτος δολοκημος μίτονες, άπολος; Εξη μίτος δολοκημος μίτονες απός ής μαριστικούς. Εξη μίτον στό ερνοστάσια. Όταν ὁ τυρανικός μου, ο κ. κοίμης, θέσελαθηκε απός ής ερνοστάσια. Όταν ὁ τυρανικός μου, ο κ. κοίμης, θέσελαθηκε και τῆς λειτσούρεις τῆς κατασακευῆς και τῆς λειτσούρεις τὸς και πους θλες. Ανεκαθεν οι δύσιστερος τού ευγλεστάτου κ. κότμητας, το καταφερα και μούδειξε πόλοκηρη τὴν άλληλογραφία μὲ τὸν κ. Κλάρκ, Ανεκαθεν οι δύσιστούρος λεγάριαζαν όχι μονάχα κτ μείνω πολύν καιρού στην γώς μονάχοι κτ μείνω πολύν καιρούς στην γέσες τέλεισσυρίσεις τον ακαφρή και νά τμε παντράμουν μιε κομιμά δολ και μότιμα σολ και μα κομιμά δολ και μότιμα παντράμουν με κομιμά δολ και μα τον το και μότιμε παντράμουν με κομιμά δολ και μάτην σπεφρή και μότιμε παντράμουν με κομιμά δολ και μάτην σπεφρή και μότιμε παντράμουν με κομιμά δολ και μότιμα ποντράμουν με κομιμά δολ και μότιμα ποντράμους και με κομμια δολ και μα ποντράμους και με κομμια δολ και μάτην συντράμουν με κομμια δολ και μα ποντράμουν με κομμια δολ και μάτην και μέν κομμια δολ και μάτην συντράμουν και με κομμια δολ και μάτην και με κομμια δολ και μα κομμια δολ και μα και με κομμια δολ και με κομμια δολ και μα και με κομμια δολ και με κομμια δολ και μα κομμια και με κομμια και με κομμια δολ και με κομμια δολ και με κομμια και με κομμια και και με κομμια και και με κομμια και και μα και και με κομμια και και με και μα και και μα και με και μα με και με και μα με και μα μα με μα μα με και μα μα μα μα μα μα μα μα

HTAN ITWAIKA ZAN OAEZ

πάτρεις εξετ'τιμος πολήτρισε' ΕΙ.

—Ε΄ Ε΄ με κέτ'τιμος πολήτρισε' ΕΙ.

το ενος επάγγελης δικής της ένειο ρέσειο, θά της εξετικής στα θά την θαυμασης: 'Οπως ένεις, είνε σπέρωλος, 'Νανεται με μεν αντικό τις ενοχλής το ενικό της δικός της δικόν μιαν ευρότοι η γεμογική. 'Καθός μιας φολιμοι η γεμογική. 'Καθός το άγγικος τις της δικόν μιας ενοχομείες, είνε συμπλότες της δικόν μιας ευρήγορα τη ένει μεγάλη είνες αντικόνη μιας είνες στα θέσειρα, ευτά είνες είνες στα θέσειρα, ευτά με ελν ενοχομείες και στα την αντικό, ευροκομείες το στα θέσειρα, ευτά με ελν ενοχομές εκτί, 'Θαμμάζων τις το συλέτες της, ή 'Αρλέτεα πετά με έλλη της την άφος της αντικόν το το το είνες θροσειμείνο τυντείον το το το είνες θροσειμείνο τυντείον το το το πησ, έγν μπαρό να περιμείνο... "Η έκη περιά πάντα στην περιας της παγίδοι: «Βροσειμείνο μοντείου το το το τισης, έγν μπαρού να περιμείνο...» 'Η έκη περιας την περιας της κατημο και την περιαξία της κατή περιας την περιαξία της κατής μπαράς η μπράσο Ι λύτο θά τη πονικός της πονολος Ι καρό της πονολος Ι κάρε μπράσο Ι λύτο θά τη πονολος το κατής που και την σεριμένο της που και την σεριμένο την περιαξία της κατής μπαράσο Ι λύτο θά τη πονολος Ι κάρε μπράσο Ι λύτο θά τη πονολος Ι και περιαξία της πονολος Ι και περιαξία της που και την σεριμένο της συνέξει της που και την σεριμένο της συνέξει της σ

πφορός!

Τα υπισμοντέρνα κορίτσια της είποχης μας Ι (υν.) της είποχης μας Ι (υν.) το θεμα μας το θεμα μας το θεμα μας.

Εται μοιπών, που λές αριστηκε τη το τάξειδη μου για την Παρασκεμή. Θενη και τά πώ δλα στην Αλλία χορίς και τά πώ δλα μας τά πώ δλα στην καταδλαβατικεί τη το το πον μέσα στην το πολία την καταδλαβατικεί τη το το ξίναν και την καταδλαβατικεί της της το ξίναν και την καταδλαβατικεί της της της δίνα λα την καταδλαβατικεί την καταδλαβατικα τα πολία την καταδλαβατικα τα πολία το κλοπορικά το εκτίνη σπάλαβε απολία το κλοπορικά και κείνη σπάλαβε απολία το ποτελία και κείνη σπάλαβε απολία το παρλαβε απολία το κλοπορικά και κείνη σπάλαβε απολία το παρλαβε απολία το κλοπορικά και κείνη σπάλαβε απολία το παρλαβε απολία το παρλαβε απολία το κλοπορικά και κείνη σπάλαβε απολία το παρλαβε απολία το κλοπορικά και κείνη σπάλαβε απολία το παρλαβε απολία το κλοπορικά και κείνη σπάλαβε απολία το κλοπορικά και κείνη σπάλαβε απολία το παρλαβε απολία το κλοπορικά και κείνη σπάλαβε απολία το κλοπορικά το κλοπορικά και κείνη σπάλαβε απολία το κλοπορικά το κλοπορικά και κείνη σπαλλαβε απολία το κλοπορικά το κλοπορικά και κείνη σπαλλαβε απολία το κλοπορικά το κλοπορικ

μπους, μπους χωρίζουμε; ... τῆς όπωπτῶ κοι τῆς ἐξήτησο δλες τὰς μηχουρρ καφητάς τοῦ μπομιαϊ. Περάκουμε δυο μέρες μαζό πόμομονητες, χωρίς καφητά γενόστητή καθμη την Περασκευή ἐρισκόμουν στο υπερωλετίτη Την Πέμμ ττη ἔρυνια γιά τη Χάθρη και την Περασκευή ἐρισκόμουν στο υπερωλετίτη την Ευνώς κοιναχία του πλο ου τὰ χάκωνται αγάκυρια του πλο ου τὰ χάκωνται αγάκυρια του πλο ου τὰ ζώδι την ἐπόχως κάκυρα του πόμο την ἐπόχως και πασόν να Εμίδι; την Αρλέτται Από καιρά Πεθελα την Αρμερική, μού είνα τὰ κυρήματα που μοῦ είνα τὰ κοι παρακηθώς συντάξεσαι ζωή που περασσημε οι δυό μας στ δλο τον στερίδι. Ξε ρει στην άρθραστη πολυτάθεμα τὸν υπεροκκουλείον, ... Η Αρλέτας κοιλ

φρίζοντα νό άγαλμα τῆς Έλευθε.

μοίς, στο λημάνη τῆς Νέας Υύρικης, Αύτη τη φορά τθείσυνν τὰ ψθήματα. Θά χωρίζομα πὰ φρατικό 1 δε δαροέσση Πάνο στα πλοία υπάρχουν φα γετα μυστικοί γυστικοί γυστικοί και δε δαροέσση 1 πόνο το μάς Είταν δατί; ή πρέπει κά αντηθευτού.

με, ἡ νά γυράσυμε πάσι Προτίμη σα το δεύνερο. Όπαν φαίφουμε πάλι τη Χάδρη ή Αρλέτα είχε την κά γι αντή Χάδρη ή Αρλέτα είχε την είχε αν είχαι και ή παρης τε ού είχαι και γι αντό ημβα πολί και μένα ε τε ού είναι και γι αντό ημβα μαζί σου.

»Φονταξεσι τι σκηνή ξκονε ό μπαίνω το γεταγικάς δτα μα μάτα ε που είναι και μένα ε που είναι η μα γυναικα σάν και μένα ε που είναι και μένα ε που είναι και η μεναίνου είναι και η μεναίνου είναι η είναι η και γιανικός στο γραφείο του η σκηνή ξκονε ό μπαίνως στο γραφείο του η σκηνή εκόν όχη πης θέα πης κάθε πλη της θά δημισμογούσε ακάδολο, που γιεί και την γημένη στου εξίνθηση κυίνεσται πολ γίνες σκάδολο, είναι και γλόπωσες την γημένουν στου είναι και γλόπωσες την γημένουν στου είναι στου στου στου στου στου είναι είναι

purdi; by τος ξέρεις το γέρο μου:
«"Όταν σε λίγες μέρες μου είπε θά ξαναφύγης για την 'Αμερική θά σε αναφύγης για την 'Αμερική θά λέπτα. Το για την 'Αρερική ότο λέπτα. Το για την Αρ. λέπτα. Το για την Αρ. λέπτα. Το κίνει πάν στο πλοίο τήν άναλομβάτνω έγω».

KYPIEM MOY,

Γιά δλα τα μυστικά της διατη-ρήστας μιζε καλής βειδερι-ίδος την άποφυγήν προώρου ρετιδόσεως τε. ριποίησιν διάρματος, ματιγιάζ ντε. ματιγιάζ, πτῶσιν καὶ πρόωρον λεό. κανοιν μαλλιῶν, καὶ ἐν γένει γιὰ δ.τι. άφορὰ τὰ πρόωπον κοὶ τὰ μαλλιά, δίδει συμέσιλλές ὁ ε.

Zdgz

προσωπικός είς τό Ίνοτιτοθιον Καλλονής, 'Ακαδημίας 7 έκόστη» Τρίτην καί Παρασκευήν, 12 όκρι. **6**0℃ µ£

DEM ONSTRATION ENTEADS ARPEAN

Γραμματόσημα

EAAHNIKA KAI EENA EIZ HOZOTHTAZ AFOPAZONTA I FANTOTE ME TAZ KAAAITE, PAZ TIMAZ

XPYL. AATHOUNDY

Bouxoupserton 4. thl. 26.998

Occadeia Socoabirans Diguelos -Eschmonus TOTOIXWOWS PIZIKH

室 Ινστιτούτο Καλλουπs PEELING MASHE DE BEAUTE

MARY KERTERZ – ΣΙΔΕΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ Διπλωματούχου Παρισίων - Βουδαπέστης Μπτοοπόλεως 5

Minto 22270 Society

Εκλεκτοί στίχοι

Рёссог понута н хон моу

(τού Φεντώρ Σολογκούπ)

Φτωχή ζωή μου! Πέρωνες τόσο μεγάλα πάθια, που όσεν εμίουν άγια μάτιυρα σε δλέπω με συμκαάξεια. Στὸν όχτο, ρεμματίζης δαθειάς, καλόμι είμα, σπασμένο, στήν άσφη «έξα, καί χολή» με σπόγγο άδιεμμιένο.

Κι' ή δύστυχη καφόούλα μου, ξριο κι' αυτή καλάμι, π' δλο το δέφνουν δίελλες και τής εργμου οι άμμιο! Μά στό γκο τής ρεμμιστίας κυτά γκ καθρομίτζη μορφή άγγελου, που γιά με πογάει και φρογιίζει . . .

*

ΠΑΡΑΚΑΗΣΙ ΓΙΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΞΕΝΗΤΕΜΕΝΟΥΣ (τοῦ "Αλέξη Μπλόκ)

Metodo: A. KAPAKAEH

EPUTETHPION ECIETHMONIKON **FIEBLIKSH**

Αναλαμεάνει την εξάλειγην όλων τών δυσμορρίων του προσόπου, άς και την ριζικήν άκοτρίχωσιν, εξαφονίζει τός ρυτέδος, οθλάς, έγκού, μοτα, στίγματα (πανάδες), στίγμα τα εύλογίας και θεραπεύει τήν τρυχόπτωσιν. Βερανζέρου 12α



When Greek fights Greek. The woman in anguish, photographed during a British Trade Union Congress investigation of the S "atrocities," as just discovered the exhumed body of her husband, slain in civil war.

Europe's Most Frightened Country

By ERNEST O. HAUSER

LL the shoeshine boys on Constitution Square, tough little shrimps in their early teens, are Communists, and a dose of their party-line chatter is included in the price of fifty drachmas for a shine. This is by no means extraordinary. A boy of twelve, in this troubled country, is expected to

have formed his political opinions and be prepared to knock over the head anyone who disagrees with him. If he has not reached this desirable stage of mind, the other boys won't play with him, and his parents will worry lest the maladjusted little fellow

remain a misfit for life.

The gods have punished the Greeks. Since the day, in 1940, when the Italians first attacked, 1,000,000 people—one in every eight Greeks—have died in battle, have succumbed to starvation or have been executed. Greece has become a land of widows-wherever you go, somber figures in black remind you of the sorrow of this nation. Along the highways and in remote valleys, crude crosses and wooden tablets complete the story. And the hurt is not all in the past. Wherever you overhear a or in the village square, you will pick out two good,

A Post correspondent visits tragic Greece, finds a hungry nation divided against itself in a deadly Left-Right civil war which never stops.

old-fashioned Greek words which are repeated time and again: "Catastrophe" and "Democracy" meaning the catastrophe that has befallen this country and the democracy that the people hoped would

come out of this war, but didn't.

Today, more than a year after their liberation, discord splits the Greeks into two warring factions, each of which has sworn to fight its opponents to the death. To be sure, the Leftist EAM—National Liberation Front-has been defeated, and Right Wing elements, loosely called royalists, now enjoy a taste of power; but the bloody civil war, which led a year ag Greek conversation, in the sidewalk cafés of Athens Hatred lingers on, and Greeks are beaten, tortured and mutilated by other Greeks every day. The

British, who came as liberators and stayed on as policemen, look on self-consciously, knowing that the spotlight of world opinion will follow their tanks wherever they go, and realizing they have lost themselves in a political labyrinth from which the magic little words "law and order" aflord no easy exit.

The tragedy of this small country, which is as large as the state of New York and which is inhabited by as many people as New York City, dramatically illustrates the tragedy of postwar Europe. Greece has the misfortune of belonging to two worlds—the harsh world of the Balkans, classic spawning ground of wars, and the softer Mediterranean world. This dualism hits you wherever you go-her rugged mountains and Shangri-La valleys link Greece to the Balkan countries farther north; and her hot blue bays are windows looking out on the shimmering sea with its golden islands, where the masts of sturdy ships lose themselves in a friendly distance. Unfortunately, there seems to be no union between the world of the mountains and the world of the sea. Up north, the Balkans lie in the shadow of the Soviet Union, whose influence now stops at the Greek border post; down south, British Greece is the frontier where British interests clash, head on, with the dynamics of Soviet imperialism.

Athens, the modern, spick-and-span capital of this old-new country, is rapidly becoming the hot spot of Eastern Europe. It is pervaded by a tenseness unique in European capitals these days, which gives the newcomer the impression that trouble is around the corner. The air is heavy with intrigue, and the few bars and black-market restaurants where foreigners mingle with wealthy Greeks would make a colorful setting for an international spy movie. Secret agents representing many interests, military attachés, and, believe it or not, some dark and glamorous lady spies swap information over plates of lobster thermidor and bottles of black wine, dancing between courses to the zippy tunes of a gypsy band. Plots are hatched, rumors passed on and deals are consummated in the glittering, hectic atmosphere of this city, where, as a cynic recently put it, people die either of starvation or of indiges-

Outside, fear reigns supreme. Nowhere in Western Europe are people so frightened as in Greece. It is only in the big cities that they will talk freely, and even there they tend to look over their shoulders first, and stop as soon as they think someone is eavesdropping. In some instances the entire population of a notoriously Communist village assured me they were true-blue royalists-hoping, probably, to escape reprisals. I found a moving example of this all-pervading fear in the mountain village of Zouka, some 150 miles north of here, where I talked with the village elders on the shady porch of a house which had been burned by the Germans. From where we sat we could see the peaks of some of Greece's most forbidding mountains; this was guerrilla country, and the resistance movement had its sturdiest roots in these steep hills. All these men, however, firmly denied that they had ever been mixed up in EAM activitiesindeed, they had never heard of the civil war, were not interested in politics, and had no knowledge of any acts of violence.

Thinking this rather strange, I made inquiries about Zouka as I passed through the town of Makrokome, in the valley below. I managed to get hold of a man who had been described to me as a Communist, and we talked over cups of Turkish coffee under a tree in the town square. Having made sure that no one was listening, he told me that Zouka village had been the scene of some violence lately. "A family was beaten up there by the royalists the other day," he whispered. "They're in our hospital now." In the hospital, a filthy makeshift affair on the edge of town, the Greek doctor introduced me to a heavily bandaged, sixty-three-year-old peasant who was lying on a cot, with two pale-looking women sitting beside him.

"This is my daughter and my daughter-in-law," the old man said, after a painful attempt to sit up. "We were asleep in our house, up in Zouka village, one night last week. Suddenly we were awakened by a banging on the door, and before we could open, five men broke into the house. Their faces were blackened with soot. They shouted we were Communists and must be punished. They beat us with the butts of their rifles until we were almost dead." The doctor explained that the old man had got it worse than the two women-his skull, arms and legs were in bad shape. The peasant's son, now a fugitive in the mountains, had been an active member of EAM, and this was the way justice was done in these hills. The hospital, he added, had treated quite a number of victims of royalist disapproval. No wonder the people of Zouka had been reluctant to talk.

A House Divided

In a small town in the shadow of towering Mt. Parnassus, I talked to the proprietor of a corner store selling stationery, combs, suspenders and books. I noticed large stacks of Communist literature on the shelves, and the young man told me that the paper-bound History of the Communist Party in Russia, at 1000 drachmas a copy, was his fastest-selling item. "My customers want to find out why everything in my shop is so expensive, so they buy the book to read all about the capitalistic system," he explained, half jokingly. "Besides, three

hundred from this town are held in jail without trial because they were connected with EAM, and their relatives buy the book, too, to find out a few things. Naturally, when they go back to their villages, they'll have to hide the book." He, himself, had been a member of the Communist Party since 1941. Asked why he wasn't in jail, he proudly explained that he had studied law, and that he had argued the district attorney out of arresting him. "The royalists come around occasionally and smash up my store," he added cheerfully.

In some villages where the Left and the Right are equally strong, the two factions camp side by side like two hostile armies during a lull in the battle. The rift often reaches down into a peasant's home, where the royalist sons and their wives refuse to eat with their Communist brothers, and separate sittings have to be arranged. Here, in Athens, between provocative mass demonstrations on Constitution Square, politics is largely carried on in the coffee shops and in private debating circles, with the groups sharply divided by party lines. "If you have a friend who disagrees with you in political matters," I was told by a young bank clerk, "your friendship ends right there. No use trying to convince him, and if you don't talk politics, what is there to talk about?"

Each faction claims that the opposition is nothing but a bunch of foreigners, "not worthy of the name 'Greeks'"; and a peace-loving citizen who refuses to take sides is a suspicious character. A waiter in an Athens restaurant who could not bring himself to take an interest in politics found life in the capital so aggravating that he finally packed up and returned to the farm in the Peloponnesus, which he owned jointly with his brothers. "I jumped from the frying pan into the fire," he told me. "I just didn't have a quiet minute. They're all royalists down there and they thought I was a Communist hiding out from the Athens police. So I came back to my old job again, and the manager of this place calls me a dirty Bolshevik, while the other waiters refer to me as a monarcho-Fascist plutocrat."

Just what went wrong in Greece? Much has been said and written about the events leading up to the present reign of fear, and passion—on both sides—has tainted the story. "British intervention smashed all that was liberal and forward-looking in Greece in favor of a dictatorship of the Right," Leftist commentators in Greece and abroad have asserted. "We've saved Greece for Europe," the British claim. "If we had allowed EAM to seize control, Greece today would be another Jugoslavia or Poland." There is a chunk of hard truth in each of these statements.

Greece became Britain's baby at Teheran when the Big Three decided that British troops were to



Communist George Siantos, the Greek Stalin, who runs EAM show, with others mere yes men.

liberate and temporarily occupy this country. But Britain had enjoyed a special position in Greece for many years before the war. British capital had helped put this country on its feet after it had won its independence from Turkey. Loans, always needed because Greece did not have enough resources of her own to pay for essential imports, were floated in the British market-today, one third of Greece's foreign debt is held in London. To secure the payment of interest, Greek customs revenues and the income from government monopolies were mortgaged to foreign creditors, notably Britain. One of Greece's "big five" banks, as well as her leading public-utility concern, providing greater Athens with power and transportation, is British-owned. British interests dominate Greece's merchant shipping as well as her insurance market. In short, Greece has long been "an economic colony" of Great Britain.

The Seeds of Civil War

STRATEGICALLY, Britain is interested in a friendly Greece. The protection of her Mediterranean life line, which includes the necessity of keeping the great Mediterranean port of Salonika out of the reach of a potentially hostile power, is a vital part of Britain's permanent foreign policy. As the Greeks, too, tend to be leery of their landlocked neighbors to the north, it can be said that the interests of the two nations, Greece and Britain, have always run parallel rather than at cross-purposes.

Thus, when a small British contingent under Lt. Gen. Ronald Scobie landed in Greece in October, 1944, in line with the Teheran decisions, it received a warm welcome from the population; EAM, which had assumed control of nearly all Greece when the Germans fled, willingly turned over the administration to the coalition government which Scobie brought with him, and co-operated on a friendly basis with other Greek groups and with the British. Two months later, members of EAM and royalists were shooting one another dead in the streets of Athens, and the British, siding with the royalists, found themselves involved in a civil war which resulted in 76,000 Greek and 1810 British casualties. Why?

The official reason for the conflict was a squabble over the disarmament of EAM's guerrilla army (ELAS). EAM was also rightly indignant about the lenient treatment of collaborationists—to this day, only eight Greek collaborationists have been executed, two of them in Athens. But the true cause of the civil war was in the fact that the Left and the Right were too far apart for even temporary co-operation. Each faction, in the best Balkan tradition, was merely preparing for a dictatorship under which members of the opposition would be either imprisoned or shot.

EAM, the National Resistance Movement, had, in fact, become an instrument of the Communist Party. While the peasants, workers, army officers, clergymen and the intellectuals in its ranks represented the overwhelming majority of the Greek nation, its key posts were held from the start by Communist organizers, and its political program closely followed the Communist Party line. The official history published by EAM states that the movement was founded in 1941 "on the initiative of the Greek Communist Party"; while the central committee of the Communist Party, in a statement published on April 24, 1945, takes credit for having "created the gigantic resistance organization of the people, EAM." This connection was by no means unnatural. The Communists, who had held only thirteen out of 298 seats in the last freely elected parliament, in fact represented the only dynamic political force in all Greece. Having been driven underground by the Metaxas dictatorship in 1936, they maintained secret cells throughout the country which provided the logical basis for a resistance movement.

"Numerically, the Communists were a minority in EAM," I was told by the leading Greek Socialist, Alexander Svolos, formerly a professor of constitutional law at Athens University, who served as president of EAM's secret mountain government. "But the party maintained actual leadership everywhere. The terroristic acts perpetrated by the

Communists finally turned many people against EAM. Today, EAM is merely a front for the Communist party."

I had the rare privilege of attending a session of EAM's governing body, a council of ten, in the back room of a small office building on Hermes Street in Athens.

Although the council is composed of two emissaries each from the parties which EAM claims to represent, there was no doubt as to who was boss. I was impressed with the smooth, efficient and definitely dictatorial manner with which the Communist leader, George Siantos—who looks surprisingly like Stalin—ran the show, relegating the other representatives to the role of mere yes men.

It is true that the Soviet Government has stood by the hands-off pledge it gave at Teheran, and there is no evidence to show that Russia had anything to do with the EAM uprising in December, 1944; in fact, Russia's attitude can best be described as one of peeved aloofness.

At the same time, many Greeks insist that, had EAM won the civil war, their country automatically would have gravitated into the Russian orbit. American observers here, strictly noncommittal in their official utterances, privately share this point of view. The Communist machine in Greece closely parallels that of other Balkan countries. It musters a force of 500 professional organizers, who have gained considerable support among the factory and dock workers in the cities and ports. Sixteen key functionaries of the party have been trained in Russia, and five young party members are sent to Russia every year for training and indoctrination. It stands to reason that a Communist victory would establish Russian influence in Greece as unequivocally as it is now established in every other Balkan country.

The British Case

[PON this premise rests the British case in Greece. In crushing EAM as a military force, British representatives here feel that they have spared Greece the sorrow of a Communist dictatorship. General Scobie assured me that his conscience was clear, and there is no reason to doubt his sincerity. Diplomacy, to be sure, is not always the forte of generals, and one might argue that a shooting war was not the only course open to the British. Most of the 150 American officers and men of the U.S. Air Transport Command who were stationed here during the fighting, holding the air lanes open in the face of terrific hardship, were critical of the British readiness to revert to tanks when negotiations seemed to fail. In spite of their "neutrality," they felt that EAM had rallied around its blood-soaked banners thousands of democratic, liberty-loving Greeks, while many Greeks on the other side were Fascistminded. But whether a kindlier, more understanding attitude on the part of the British representatives would have prevented the tragedy is anybody's

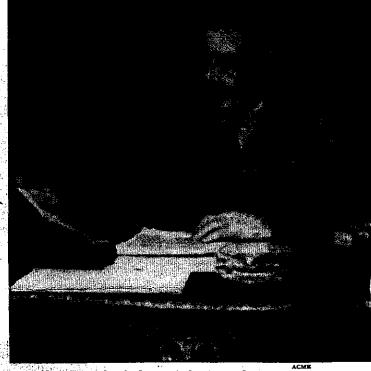
Today, as a result of their victory, the Right Wing forces are making hay while the sun shines. Conditions reminiscent of early Nazi Germany leave Greece with less freedom than any other liberated European country outside the Russian sphere. Armed vigilantes maintain "order" in the villages, and a private army of storm troopers, called "Organization X" and led by an active colonel in the Greek Army, Colonel Grivas, terrorizes the city folk. Although Greece enjoys "freedom of the press," the printing plants of Leftist newspapers are smashed frequently; sometimes their readers are apprehended and beaten up. I talked to one young man who had been badly pommeled and had his hair shaved off by "X-ites" who had found a copy of a Communist paper in his pocket. Neither the Greek Army nor the police seriously object to Right Wing excesses.

Some 13,000 rank-and-file members of EAM are held in prison without hope of a trial. Although they were arrested on charges of having had a hand in EAM atrocities, no such evidence could be secured, and the crime, in most cases, simply consisted of membership in the resistance movement. I visited a prison at Kalamata (Continued on Page 44)



The British came as liberators, stayed as policemen. The left Tommy shown above is rushing this Athenian civilian from the scene of a fight between Great Britain's soldiers and EAM Leftists.





Alexander Svolos, Greek Socialist leader, who frankly blames EAM Communists for terrorism.

British police chief, General Scobie, whose troops suffered 1810 casualties in Greece's civil war.

The armful of money in the hands of the speculator below indicates how complete is the country's economic collapse. A gold sovereign is worth about 73,000 drachmas. Everybody in Greece gambles.



(Continued from Page 41) For no reason at all, there was a cold spot in the pit of his stomach.

"Dammit, George, get hold of yourself," he muttered, turning to go back to the car.

The whistle made lonesome noises at the night, and the iron wheels squeaked and rattled against the iron rails, and inside the compartment was the dry odor of hot steam pipes, and the faint smell of disinfectant, and the muffled flutter of the connecting blind at the end of the car. George cupped his hands against the cool glass and watched a couple of lights swing by. "Watsontown," he said. "We're twenty miles out."

They had a roomette; he was sitting in the chair, and Hannah had her feet propped against the cushion, so that her toes rested against his thigh.
"George," she said, "you got the

wiggles. What's the matter, hon?"
He snorted. "You really want to

know? I'm scared. We are mixed up with unscrupulous people, people with guns and no morals. We are running away, but who knows what we're run-

ning into?"

"Well," Hannah said, smiling with one side of her mouth, "maybe you're worried, but I'm not. Not any more. I'm on my way—and I got you, George. Honest, efficient and reliable."

He scowled at her. "You're doing it again, aren't you? Damn you, Hannah.'

'Doing what?"

"Making fun of me. Acting old and wise and all full of Weltschmerz."
"What's that?"

"A German expression. I went to

"Say it again." "Weltschmerz."

"It sounds like a pain in the head," Hannah said, smiling at him with one corner of her mouth.

"I know," George said miserably.
"I'm a comedian. I am a funny little boy. When you were scared and nervous for a while tonight, Hannah, you almost made me feel like a man. Now you feel better. Now I'm a comedian

Hannah looked straight at him. "I don't think you're a comedian," she said softly. "I don't think you're funny at all, and I feel better because you're with me again. And, Georgie, I don't think you're a little boy. I know bet-

They looked at each other for a minute, and then, very deliberately, little silver pitcher that hung from her George got up, pushed his chair back right ear. "A great joke."



and sat down beside her. He put his hand on her shoulder, slid it up to her neck, looped his thumb under her chin. He let his face down to her mouth and nailed her to the cushions. She made a small surprised noise and sat very still. Her skin was warm and she smelled like a million dollars.

"Hey," she said softly, after a moment. "Hey, you."

"It's a funny thing," he said. "Most know how pretty it would be of the population of Hilltop, Iowa, "Don't make the speech, thinks we're eloping. It was just a coincidence, but that's what it looked like, I suppose." He played with the

"Very funny," Hannah said, not looking at him, looking up at the ceiling.

"Is it?" George said.
Hannah closed her eyes. He swung
the little silver pitcher back and forth with his finger tip.

"That sounds like the beginning of a very pretty speech," Hannah said

"It is," George said. "Well, I don't

"Don't make the speech, sugar," Hannah said. "Please don't. I would probably cry, and you wouldn't like that. Change the subject." Her eyes lock behind him. were very tightly closed.

"What's the trouble, Hannah?"

"There's no trouble," she said. "Don't make me cry, that's all. I haven't cried since I was fourteen.' She turned her head away, as if she were afraid she might start now.

George felt confused and even a little embarrassed. "I'm sorry," he said, without knowing why he apologized. "I—I never saw you like this before, Hannah."

She turned her face to him, and her big green eyes melted him.
"I never felt like this before," she

said.

"Then, Hannah — She laid her fingers across his lips, cutting off the words. She shook her head slowly, smiling at him. He moved away. "Okay," he said.

sighing. "Have it your own way, He pushed his hair out of his eyes,

He started to get up, but she caught his hand.

"Don't misunderstand me, sugar," she said. "It's almost four hours before we get to Chicago. I just don't want any speeches, that's all." She slid her hand up his sleeve. "But we might as well enjoy the trip." She tilted her face up, and the silver earrings swung gen-

tly against her neck.
"Come here, George," she said.
There was a knock on the door. George heard it, but he pretended that he hadn't. The knock came again a little harder, three sharp taps. George sucked in his breath angrily. "Who is it?" he snapped.

"Porter. I want to talk to you."

"What about?"

"There's a mix-up. You all goin' have to vacate."

"I gave you ten bucks, didn't I?" "Yessuh, but there's a mix-up."

George looked at Hannah, who made a face and shrugged, and then flipped the lock. He opened the door about six inches, ready to argue it out. Opening the door was a mistake. A hand shot through the opening, caught his collar, pulled him forward. He felt a sudden prick of pain right on his larynx, saw a glitter of steel. He was looking, at very short range, into the deep-set eyes of a gentleman with a prominent gold tooth and a blue-black beard.
"Open wide," the man with the

knife said.

The pressure of the blade point against George's throat increased a little. George stepped back. The man with the knife stepped quickly inside and slammed the door. He turned the

(TO BE CONCLUDED)

EUROPE'S MOST FRIGHTENED COUNTRY

(Continued from Page 11)

where 271 male prisoners were held on political charges, most of them having been in jail for eight months. They all belonged to EAM, but only a few of them were Communists. "Everybody here has fought against the Germans, they told me. "Many of us have scars from German and Italian bullets. Why are we in jail?" A surprising aspect of the prison is the fact that the inmates at last had attained freedom of speech. Neatly printed . EAM posters were stuck up on the walls, and the prisoners

American uniform as if it held a promise of liberation.

The worst thing I saw in Kalamata, however, was the women's jail. This was a small tenement converted to house twenty political women prisoners in two cells, where they slept on the floor, the healthy with the sick. The floor consisted of rough wooden planks with wide-open cracks between them. An open cesspool was immediately below, and the stench was unbearable. The place was infested with vermin, but the inmates complained, especially, about the rats. A modest food ration was contributed by UNRRA, as it is not customary in Greek jails to feed the prisoners. Food sent in by relatives was shared by all alike. Some of the rose from the floor in their pajamas creatures, with them. But most of the from Sparta, Greece, and Brooklyn, and relatives of people who have suf-or torn underwear, they gazed at my prisoners were high-school girls who New York, who jumped over Normandy (Continued on Page 47)

had taken an active part in the resistance movement. Three or four male guards, husky members of the gendarmerie, were living with these girls inside the jail.

Modern Greece, in spite of her glorious past, can scarcely be called a civilized country. The rifle and the club are considered proper means of expressing opinions; large-scale banditry was stamped out less than twenty years ago, and blood feuds reaching back into dim yesterdays still rage in the hills. Today, thousands of defeated EAM guerrillas are back in their mountain strongholds, where they lead the rugged life of outlaws, falling back upon the tradition of the frontier. I was given a vivid description of this alarming as-

on D Day, and was wounded at Bastogne. When I saw him, Pericles, now a driver for the U. S. Air Transport Command in Athens, had just returned from a visit to his grandparents' home in old Sparta. "All the boys I used to know when I was a kid," he told me, "now take turns patrolling the streets at night. When the Communists come in from the hills to forage, they pick them off one by one. In my mother's village, the Communists have burnt many houses. My granddad has a pastry shop, and he doesn't like to sell anything to a Leftist, but sometimes he does, just to avoid a fight. There are shootings and beatings all the time—real Wild West stuff!"

Often, political action follows the even had their own political spokesman. inmates were married and had their pect of Greek life by Pfc. Pericles Pa- old vendetta line. Many of the beat-As these unshaven, dark-eyed men babies, flabby and white-looking little nagakos, an American paratrooper ings are actually carried out by friends

fered similarly at the hands of the Communists. In the picturesque trading town of Lamia, in Central Greece, I happened upon a congregation of six people—a priest, a bank clerk, a dairyman, a post-office employee, the owner of a tobacco shop and a pretty girl student-all of whom were mourning close relatives killed by the Communists. Under the leadership of a bootblack named Constantine, in whose parlor I met them, they had founded a league of victims of EAM atrocities. They were all eager to settle a personal score on a an eager to settle a personal score on a national basis, and were hoping that the king would soon return from London, so "the Greek family have a father again." "If the British ever pull out of Greece," the girl said, "I hope they leave a little space on the decks of their ships for us to go along."

(Continued from Page 44)

their ships for us to go along."

At a lavish cocktail party given in an Athens apartment by a leading industrialist for the inner circle of the royalist, or Right Wing, movement, I asked some of the guests what would have happened if EAM had won the civil war. The reply, in each case, was a guttural sound and a horizontal sweep of the guest's hand across his throat. "I don't understand why the common people hate us," a heavily scented lady observed. "We haven't done anything to them. It is very funny!"

Most of the men, with their welltailored worsteds, their monocles, their polished manners and their perfumed handkerchiefs, were typical representa-tives of the upper class of modern Greece. Basing their claim to leadership upon rather recently acquired textile, cement, shipping and tobacco for-tunes, members of this class are more at home in the elegant hotels of Paris and the Riviera than in the Homeric simplicity of the Greek village. They share with other Balkan barons a total lack of social responsibility, and thus differ from the upper classes of Western Europe, which were steeped in the noblesse oblige tradition.

One of the guests at the cocktail party was a politician who hoped to be elected on the royalist ticket. We made an appointment for lunch the next day and, over a glass of Samos wine, he developed the royalist program. It bore a strange resemblance to the Nazi program, except, of course, that things were supposed to rotate around a king rather than a dictator. "In short," he ended, "once we are in power, we can outlaw the parties that are against us by a simple vote in Parliament. Strictly democratic."

Their present position of influence explains the royalists' eagerness to rush through the elections and the plebiscite on the question of the monarchy before the Communists can bring their mountain guns out of hiding for the promised "second round." They hope that many Greeks will vote for the king-whose personal popularity is almost nil—simply because they consider him a bulwark against Communism. Anyway, as long as thousands of EAM followers have to stay away from their homes and from the polling booth, as long as the Right Wing policy controls the pre-election registration, a Left Wing victory appears unlikely. I have talked with numerous Greeks who frankly told me they did not dare show up for registration, for fear of being thrown in jail when they presented themselves. Known royalists, on the other hand, are reliably reported by

corrected in time Allied supervision of the Greek elections will remain a farce.

The ever-present threat of a new flare-up of the Greek civil war, is accentuated by cold and hunger. Greece is a poor country, to begin with; it has few resources and few industries, and UNRRA. Thanks to UNRRA, there is even in normal times had to import little outright starvation in Greece to-half a million tons of wheat every year day; indeed, this country has become

here that unless the election lists are woods, and she had been making the as seed, fertilizer, and bulls for artificial trip daily for many weeks to build her-self a roof before the snow came.

Meanwhile, the entire Greek nation is on relief-two out of every three loaves of bread consumed by the as transport into the hills could not be Greeks this year were contributed by

insemination.

In many parts of Greece, UNRRA had to ask the inhabitants of inaccessible villages to come down and get it, organized. Terrific handicaps still have to be overcome. Greek industrialists sometimes seem more concerned with playing the black market and manipulating the price of the gold sovereign, which has become the illegitimate standard of all values in inflation-ridden Greece, rather than place their facilities at the disposal of UNRRA. Local factory and ship owners, whose cooperation UNRRA is trying to enlist, sometimes hold out for a prohibitive price-it has been cheaper to import cement from Oregon than to buy it from local Greek manufacturers! Out in the sticks, the government-appointed Greek distributing committee some-times sees to it that its political friends get good things first. In spite of such flaws, the supplies are moving and, in the remotest village, children proudly point out the American labels on their warm little coats. Tens of thousands of Greeks will be alive next spring exclusively as a result of UNRRA aid.

But the Greeks, whose ancestors invented democracy, expect more than bread from the inventors of the atomic bomb. Today, with the villages burned, trade and commerce disrupted, and authority vested in a group of political racketeers, there is a great longing for liberty and stability. It won't be easy. For years, every effort was bent on frustrating the invaders; destruction rather than construction was a patriot's sacred duty; city-bred young men got used to the free-and-easy life of the guerrilla; schools were closed, homes disrupted and children were taught to kill, steal and lie. To straighten the Greeks out, honest and intelligent leadership is needed.

Greeks, like most other people, want to live freely and decently. To be sure, they are an argumentative race, and the promises of the radicals on both sides probably appeal to something that has been present in their blood stream since the time of Socrates. But the fact remains that the vast, reasonable and essentially democratic-minded majority of the Greek people lacks political representation, and that there is nothing for the bedeviled man in the street to do but join one of the two extremist groups and become a Communist or a royalist.

As one intelligent Athenian put it, "If the Allies had landed with a shipload of ideas, things might be more nearly normal now.

Thus, the fate of this nation unfolds with the merciless logic of a Greek tragedy. Power politics, life lines and spheres of influence make the lives of 7,500,000 Greeks thoroughly miserable. Britain, concerned largely with Empire security, is now training and equipping a Greek Army of 100,000 men, who, it is hoped, will repulse any attack which may come from the north. Russia maintains her peeved aloofness, and the United States washes her hands of Greece because it is outside her sphere." To the Greeks in the mountains, to the Greeks in prison and to the confused youngsters who are Communists today and royalists tomorrow, this is a sad state of affairs. But as long as distrust and suspicion rule the relations among the world's great powers, the people of this unhappy country realize that there is little hope for them. When Greeks?

Lece

HAIL AND FAREWELL

By Joseph Auslander

What are the ghosts of the Old Year saying? What do they whisper from ear to ear? The drunken dancers are reeling and swaying In a swirl of confetti, but far from their playing A few are kneeling and weeping and praying, And maybe they hear—maybe they hear:

Do you remember the lad who sleeps Under the restless coral, for keeps? In the blood and rubble of all the earth? (He loved warm lips and music and mirth) In the muck and welter and blinding flame? And what was his name? What was his name? (Adams . . . Larson . . . Santelli . . . Cohen . . . Svoboda . . . Kelly . . .)

What say the ghosts of the year that is flying This night to the year that is being born? Can you hear it above the din and the crying Now in the night when a world is dying, Now in the night when a world is trying To rise, with terror and travail torn?

Have you forgotten so soon, so soon, Hiroshima smashed by a falling moon? The boys who fought, the boys who fell Along the way from here to hell, Dead on their feet, unmedaled, still Sticking it out, storming the hill? (Adams . . . Larson . . . Santelli . . Cohen . . . Svoboda . . . Kelly . . .)

So an era dies while the bells are ringing, And the new age stands in a narrow space; And far from the crowd's confetti-flinging, Far from the shouting and whistling and singing Lies the lad who tore from your mouth's wild clinging, Wide-eyed, with the stars in his face.

We will long remember; we will not forget. When spring sets in and the streets are wet; No matter how long, we will still remember. In the keen blue twilights of September, In the honeyed summer, in winter's frost We will think of them; we will count the cost.

(Adams . . . Larson . . . Santelli . . . Cohen . . . Svoboda . . . Kelly . . .)

to feed its people. The Germans, seeing an impressive showcase of that muchthat Greece would make no contribution to Hitler's Europe, treated her as a liability and stripped her of every-thing that could be moved—even household furniture was sent to Germany, labeled "Presents from the Greek people."

Some 1500 Greek villages were methodically burned by the Germans as a reprisal for guerrilla activities, and the villagers today crouch in the rubble, wondering how they will survive yet another winter. In one gutted mountain village I saw a tiny old servers here to have obtained more woman return from the forest with dertaken the incredible job of mailthan one polling card, enabling them to three heavy logs strapped to her frail ordering a complete catalogue of civ- pus, what chance is there for the cast several votes. It is pointed out back; it was a four-hour climb to the ilization, including such primary items

criticized organization. Under the extremely able direction of Buell F. Mabel, of San Francisco, who previously had organized distribution for the United States food administrator in eleven Western states, UNRRA has set up something that might be called a supergovernment for Greece. In order to operate in this rugged, devastated country, it had to import everything from boxcars and trucks to Bailey bridges, before it could start distributing food and clothing. At the cost of \$25,000,000 a month, UNRRA has un-

WANTED: A MIRACLE IN GREECE

BY PAUL A. PORTER

FORMER PRESIDENTIAL EMISSARY TO GREECE

ODAY an almost forgotten American mission has got to perform a miracle—or fail in The miracle is to save Greece from economic disintegration and the inroads of Communism.

The fight to save Greece is just beginning. The announcement of plans is not enough. What will go on in Greece this month and next is infinitely more important than are the debates which commanded the headlines last March and April.

Last January, I went to Greece as head of a mission charged with reporting on the economic situation and with determining what outside assistance would be necessary for the survival of the Greek nation. I know at firsthand the complicated and discouraging conditions which today are confronting Dwight Griswold and the American Mission for Aid to Greece. And I feel strongly that the American people should know precisely what these conditions are.

During a trip through the lovely Greek countryside, a peasant I talked with typified the Greek national psychosis. He was a weary and discouraged man, prematurely old, his face lined and wrinkled, his hands upturned in a gesture of mute despair.

"Four times in my lifetime my home has been destroyed," he said, "—by the Turks, the Bulgars, the Nazis and the guerrillas. Why should I build it up again?"

This hopelessness is typical. The whole country, from top to bottom, is in the grip of a gray, unrelieved, profound lack of faith in the future-a lack of faith which produces simple inertia for the present. From the large textile manufacturers in Athens to the small shopkeepers and farmers in the northernmost part of Macedonia, peo-

> All that the U.S. mission to Greece has to do is end a civil war, eliminate corruption in government ranks, rebuild the economy of a nation and revive hope in a people sunk in despair. There's a chance they'll do it

ple are paralyzed by uncertainty and

Businessmen will not invest. Storekeepers will not lay in supplies. Peasants will not repair their ruined houses. One official told me that 150,-000 homes had been totally destroyed in Greece and that only 1,300 had been rebuilt in 1946.

My most depressing experience in Greece was a visit to Kalavryta, the Lidice of Greece. This was the village high up a narrow gorge near the Gulf of Corinth where, in December, 1943, a small band of Greek resistance forces ambushed a squadron of Nazi occupation troops. The German re-

prisal was an unbelievable act of horror and brutality. The 1,200 men of the village were herded into an open field, where from the vantage point of higher ground, they were forced to watch their homes and shops burned from the incendiary volleys fired simultaneously into each structure. When the conflagration reached its height and the Greeks sought to break away from their Nazi guards, machine guns from concealed emplacements massacred the helpless lot of them.

Meantime, the women, old men and children were concentrated in the largest building—a school. It was the last to be ignited. Legend has it that the screams of the women and children were too much for an Austrian officer and he shot the lock off the Liberated from the blazing school, the survivors fled to the hills and returned later that night to re-cover the bodies of their men on the hillside, and buried them in the village

cemetery.

The despair in Greece today is crucial, because our whole program of aid is based on the assumption that the people will be able to snap out of the prevailing inertia. We are not stepping up the amount of outside assistance enough to make the future much different from the past. During 1946, Greece got about \$330,000,000 from UNRRA and the British; our aid of \$350,000,000 barely exceeds this. And, at the same time, we are banking on the ability of the Greeks to more than double their exports. So, far from having too liberal an amount of money for use in Greece, we are operating on an exceedingly narrow margin. Indeed it may soon become apparent that estimates of \$350,000,000 which my

group made are too conservative, and that additional funds may be necessary. Mr. Griswold will find that conditions have rapidly worsened since the first mission went out last January. There has since been a widespread drought which has substantially reduced local grain pro-

duction. The military activity has been stepped up. And our own price level has risen to shade the value of the dollars Congress has made available. The \$350,000,000 loan will not go as far as we had hoped and planned. At best, we will get up to the minimum reconstruction level. At worst, we may have trouble maintaining a level of decent subsistence.

If the American mission is to end this deep sense of national hopelessness, it must resolve two controversial situations-the civil war and the present government.

One winter day in Macedonia, as I was standing on a riverbank, hundreds of low-flying geese suddenly appeared out of the clouds, flying in formation and honking wildly as they came. I remarked casually to a Greek standing with me that they must have fine shooting in Macedonia.

Men have been so busy shooting one another in this part of the world," he answered sadly, "that they have had

no time for the geese."

So long as this state of mind continues, the prospects for economic re-construction are dim. You cannot devote your full energies to repairing docks, building bridges and maintaining roads when you are likely to be shot in the back any moment. The greatest obstacle to the reconstruction of Greece is the continuance of the civil war. There can be no permanent solution of Greece's economic future until the present military burden is reduced—until money and men are released for productive purposes. There can be no permanent solution of Greece's psychological paralysis until the menace of external aggression is removed.

I am convinced that the Russians know this even better than we do. The Communists know that the revival of guerrilla warfare will put us badly on the spot in Greece—so they are working overtime to revive it. That is why, it seems to me, Russia's U.N. delegate Andrei Gromyko vetoed the U.S. proposal to establish a semipermanent frontier commission in the Balkans. The plain fact appears to be that the U.S.S.R. does not want a pacification of frontier conditions in the Balkans. For such pacification will be an almost indispensable condition for American success in helping bring about Greek economic recovery.

This brings up the question of the Greek government. The present regime obviously must constitute the set of tools through which we work. We cannot kick off by naming a new team. Adoption of these means would contradict the ultimate ends we wish to accomplish in Greece and elsewhere; furthermore, blatant intervention of this kind would supply potent ammunition to Soviet propaganda about American imperialism. But we can—and must—do something to sharpen these tools.

Chief among these tools is the Greek civil service. The late King George of Greece, in my first talk with him, referred to many government employees as "camp followers" and "coffeehouse politicians" and described the whole civil service as a kind of pension system for political hacks. These were harsh words, but not unwarranted. The civil service is overexpanded, underpaid and demoralized. The low salaries have been augmented by a completely baffling system of extra allowances by which a few civil servants probably get as much as four times their base pay.

At the same time the bulk of them do not get a living wage. Many of them are forced to supplement their government pay by taking outside jobs. Imagine the effects in Washington if officials in government departments worked part time for local lawyers or lobbyists or industrialists. The curiously short working weekusually 33 hours, consisting of mornings only for 6 days a week—facilitates the economic double life which so many government workers lead.

The result is complete disorganization. I have never seen an administrative structure which, for sheer incompetence and ineffectiveness, was so appalling. The civil service simply cannot be relied upon to carry out the simplest functions of government—the collection of taxes, the enforcement of economic regulations, the

repair of roads.

Thus the drastic reform of the civil service is an indispensable condition to getting anything else done in Greece. But the civil service is just the beginning. There is the far more intricate and explosive question of the political leadership of the country. Candor will compel me to make some frank statements about this government, but what would you have America do? Would you have prayed with Henry Wallace for the defeat of the Greek aid bill so that you could exchange the present inefficient, rightwing regime for a police state on the Tito model?

I rather doubt it. Because whatever it is, the present Greek government is not a totalitarian dictatorship, and besides, it does not seem to me that the nature of the government is relevant to the question of external aggression. We can't take the position that it is all right to commit acts of aggression against governments we do not like, and only bad to commit such acts against governments we

There is within Greece a vigorous and critical political opposition. There is a free press. The Communist paper is published daily in Athens, and each morning in my mailbox I received an English translation of the mimeographed bulletin of the EAM bitterly denouncing the present regime. It is not at all a liberty-loving regime in the American sense, but it is paradise next to its neighbors of the north and their much vaunted "new democracy." Obviously the existence of freedom of expression is no excuse for other governmental delinquencies. But it does signal the possibility of peaceful and democratic change.

On the other hand, the fact remains that this present government has not, on the record, shown any affirmative philosophy or any inclination to do the things necessary to end their nation's travail. On my first day in Greece, I had a talk with General J. G. W. Clark, the intelligent and somewhat sardonic head of the British Eco-

nomic Mission.

"When visitors on arriving in a new country," he began by saying, "run into a sandstorm or a hurricane, they are always told how unusual the weather is. But the situation you are running into here in Athens-the monetary crisis, the possible civil service strike, the pending fall of the (Continued on page 106)

Collier's for September 20, 1947

WANTED: A MIRACLE IN GREECE

Continued from page 14

Bud & Bill Bervice GET YOUR CAR READY FOR

ANTI-FREEZE NOW WITH Z/Zarner
COOLING SYSTEM SERVICE



cold snap! Be prepared . . . order anti-freeze early . . . and get the cooling system of your car all set for winter driving. Now's the time, before the mad rush is on and your dealer is swamped by motorists who delayed too long. Ask him today for a pre-winter cooling system checkup including complete service with these famous Warner products:



Warner Radiator Cleaner. Thoroughly removes rust, scale, oil muck and grease from entire cooling system. Eliminates danger of over-heating from clagged-up passages.

Warner Coaling System Protector. Keeps the cooling system clean. Prevents rust and corresion that lead to over-heating

Warner Liquid Solder -- Non-Metallic. Repairs leaks by depositing tiny fibers wherever leaks occur. Prevents loss of vital anti-freeze.

Get your pre-winter cooling system check-up NOW!



Warner-Patterson Co., 920 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago S. III.

litical climate of Greece. So far as I could see, the Greek government had no effective policy except to plead for foreign aid to keep itself in power, loudly citing Greece's wartime sacrifices and its own king-size anti-Communism as reasons for granting the foreign aid in unlimited quantities. It

government—is the normal postwar po-

intends, in my judgment, to use foreign aid as a way of perpetuating the privi-leges of a small banking and commercial clique which constitutes the invisible power in Greece.

The reaction to President Truman's speech of March 12th, calling for aid to Greece, was characteristic. In January and February of 1946, desperation had produced a spate of good intentions and noble resolutions within the Greek government; but the instant effect of the assurance of American aid was not to stimulate the government to further efforts, but to give it the relaxed feeling that it was delivered from the necessity of having to do anything at all. So it declared a national holiday; there was dancing in the streets. And at the same time it shelved a plan for the immediate export of surplus olive oil—a plan which had stepped on the toes of some private traders.

Demetrios Maximos, the present Prime Minister, is a kindly, well-intentioned old man, with, I think, an earnest desire to help his suffering people. He is very small and frail, with a mustache and a goatee, carefully dressed and wearing oldfashioned button shoes. He speaks English with precision and is something of a scholar. But, though a man of good will, Maximos is a prisoner of the errors of his predecessors and of more forceful men in ĥis own cabinet.

The Influential Tsaldaris

Pre-eminent among these is the Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister, Constantin Tsaldaris. A Greek politician of long standing, Tsaldaris has avowedly embraced the principles of a generous amnesty policy toward the guerrillas, has constantly urged the fullest participation by the United Nations in Greece's border difficulties, and in general has been a persistent pleader abroad for the Greek cause. Yet his conduct of internal affairs when he was Prime Minister was not such as to advance Greek recovery significantly. His administration was characterized by the abandonment of measures of domestic economic policy which might have been of some real benefit to the masses of Greek people. But even Tsaldaris advocates another election in Greece when and if the border is stabilized. He professes to recognize that the Greek people are weary of the game of political musical chairs, where the same personalities merely shift their positions when a cabinet crisis develops. There have been seven changes in the Greek government since liberation, but Tsaldaris and his Populist (extreme right) cohorts remain dominant. An even more controversial figure is

General Napoleon Zervas, the Minister of Public Order. During the war Zervas ran a small "resistance" group around whose activities hangs the smell of Nazi collaboration. Today Zervas is foremost among those who want to exploit the present situation, not only to eliminate Communist-inspired aggression from across the borders, but apparently to rub out everyone in Greece who is critical of the present government. He is untedly the figure behind the recent observers in Athens, anti-Communist liberals as well.

well-informed Greek friendly to the present regime that these after-dark roundups of Zervas' were not the repressive tactics of a police state, but only legitimate precautions of self-preservation. Of the 1,600 arrested in this last raid, more than 500 were subsequently released, he told me with great pride, because there was no basis for the charges against them.

Then, behind the government, is a small mercantile and banking cabal, headed by Pesmazogiu, governor of the National Bank of Greece and a shrewd and effective operator. This cabal is determined above all to protect its financial prerogatives, at whatever expense to the economic health of the country. Its members wish to retain a tax system rigged fantastically in their favor. They oppose exchange controls, because these might prevent them from salting away their profits in banks in Cairo or Argen-They would never dream of investing these profits in their country's recovery.

The shipping interests are in a particularly scandalous position. Today the American mission faces in Greece. Can Greek merchant marine is enjoying a

I was told in Washington recently by a liberal, and the Communists will help him by spurring on the civil war.

And another, more insidious, form of pressure will be brought against the members of the mission. The social lobby—the smart international set, with its headquarters at Cannes, St. Moritz and the Kolonaki Square of Athens—will begin to operate. Many of them are charming people, speaking excellent English, who will be genuinely anxious to be of service to the American mission, but who, above all, will seek to convert the mission into another means of safeguarding their own prerogatives.

I still remember one ornate dinner when a leading banker entertained me in his luxurious Athens apartment. There were three liveried butlers, several magnificent wines, astoundingly good food.
One guest during dinner became rhapone guest during dinner became rhap-sodical over the beauties of marine life and the high sport of spear-fishing under water with goggles. The contrast between the superb feast in the apartment and the starving children in the streets was simply too pat and cruel.

These are the obstacles which the

These are the obstacles which the we succeed in achieving our objectives?



the profits. But the bankrupt Greek government is benefiting almost not at all from this prosperity. Seamen's earnings continue to come into Greece, but owners' profits for the most part are locked away elsewhere.

Any enterprise should be expected to pay a fair amount of taxes to the government under whose protection it operates -and particularly in this case, where the Greek shipowners are making most of their profits out of Liberty ships sold to them by the U.S. Maritime Commission after the Greek government had guaranteed the mortgages. The yearly earnings of a Greek-owned Liberty ship will probably run between \$200,000 and \$250,000. Of this, only the ridiculously small amount of \$8,000 goes to the government in taxes. Foreign experts have urged the government to raise the tax requirements to about \$30,000. But the political strength of the shipowners has prevented any effective action.

It will be the job of our mission to get action out of this government. In their efforts, the members of the mission can expect that the book will be thrown at a colonial possession or a conquered them. They will receive every conceiva- country. ble excuse and will be held up by every wave of arrests which took in not just conceivable form of bureaucratic ob- provisional and pragmatic. I feel that Communists, but, according to informed structionism and incompetence. General the Greek state, in having requested as-Zervas will cry that the big thing is to sistance and supervision, is to that extent fight the Communists by arresting every setting a limitation on its own sover-

boom, and the shipowners are raking in Such a prophecy depends on how we measure success, and will require a great deal of elaboration of what really constitutes our objectives. We cannot evaluate progress in Greece by usual Western standards. There will be no quick or easy solution of the many social or eco-nomic maladjustments. My own brief experience in Greece convinces me that the American people will be greatly in the debt of Mr. Griswold and his col-leagues if an atmosphere can be created and maintained wherein the Greek people have an opportunity in the near future for free political choices.

This raises the delicate problem of the

intervention by one nation in the in-ternal affairs of another. We have to face that question frankly. British officials freely admitted to me that the British Economic Mission served no useful purpose because its functions were merely advisory and it had no sanctions with which to enforce its recommendations. "Our fatal error," said one official, was to condone incompetence because of political considerations." Yet obviously we cannot treat Greece as if it were

My own answer to that question is

Collier's for September 20, 1947



Only these patented filters have the 66 baffles that absorb juices and whirl the smoke cleaner and cooler into your mouth.

S.M. FRANK & CO., INC., NEW YORK 22

eignty. If we are to make a heavy investment in Greek recovery, it is common sense to suppose that this implies the means to make the recovery effective. These actualities have been recognized by the Greek government and embodied in the Greek note of June 15th to the United States and the U.S.-Greek aid agreement of June 20th.

The note and the agreement spell out specific objectives of reform and reconstruction. It will be the legitimate business of the American mission to take all the steps necessary to secure compliance with the terms of the contract. To get down to cases, if a Greek minister resists or obstructs measures necessary for Greek recovery, or perverts American aid to antidemocratic purposes, I cannot believe that our mission would stand by

impotent. The mission should make sure that the Greek people are kept fully informed of American aims and efforts and of the nature of the difficulties encountered, one of the wisest of living Greeks said to me. "If the practice followed up to now is continued—that of shielding the incompetence and unwillingness to cooperate of Greek ministers behind a veil of secrecy—the mission may lose the initiative in Greece. The mission must establish direct contact with the Greek people from the very beginning and appeal to public opinion for active support. see no other means of exerting pressure for necessary measures that are bound to be strongly resisted by the present Greek

an end to the present internal warfare and to refute the Soviet propaganda line that the U.S. is financing a civil war in Greece. The best available means of doing this is to have a real amnesty. The Maximos cabinet was finally prevailed upon to adopt an amnesty program which looked plausible on paper; but, as a member of the Greek cabinet told me, the appointment of General Zervas as Minister of Public Order completely destroyed anyone's inclination to take the programs seriously. The amnesty must have enough safeguards to bring out of the hills everyone who is not an outright Communist agent.

Then we must follow through on the program of economic reconstruction. The American mission will supervise closely the money spent for this.

Then, over a longer period, will come political democratization. A program of political reconstruction and reform cannot, in its nature, be put into effect overnight. It is dependent on the restoration of economic stability, and so must be a step-by-step process. Once the economic program begins to roll, we can do our best to foster and develop elements of the center and the non-Communist people everywhere in the world. left.

There are democratic resources in Greece which have not yet been fully tapped. Damaskinos, the archbishop of Greece, a man with a massive, disinterested wisdom on political conditions, carries great moral force in all camps.

Sophoulis, the head of the Liberal party, though past the prime of his active political life, also has great moral stature in the country. Varvaressos, the Greek representative in the International Bank, is a man of conspicuous ability; and some of the younger politicians, like Kanellopoulos and the younger Venizelos, show promise.

These Elements Inspire Hope

There are forces of real democratic vitality in the country at large. The agricultural co-operative movement seemed to me an unusually robust and promising movement. The student movement has vigor; and, if Clinton Golden, formerly of the C.I.O. and now on Dwight Griswold's staff, can free the trade-union movement from the grip, on the one hand, of government stooges, and, on the other, of Communists, that may well develop into a bulwark of democracy.

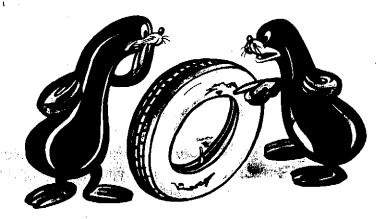
We are facing a situation unprecedented in our history, and we will simply have to develop a new and American means of coping with it. The British formula in such cases was always collaboration with the native ruling classes -buying their support by confirming them in their power to exploit the masses, and relying upon them to hold the peo-The first step, of course, is to bring ple down with gendarmery and whips.

This formula is not only repugnant to American traditions. It is also impractical. No system would deliver the Greek people more speedily into the arms of the Russians. We must work out a formula for starting from the bottom and working up-not starting from the top and working down.

Russia is standing patiently by, hoping to get into Greece by a base on balls. It is confident that Greek incompetence and Greek reaction, combined with American inexperience and American gullibility, will doom the efforts of the American mission. We will soon be so frustrated by inefficiency, vacillation and simple knavery, Russia hopes, that we will grow disgusted and indifferent and finally walk out. Then guess who will walk in!

I think Americans have enough resourcefulness and perseverance to lick the problem. If we are defeated in Greece, it will be a crushing moral and strategic blow to our new internationalrole solar plexus. But, if we can leave Greece in a state of economic and political health, we will have brought new hope and new faith to freedom-loving

THE END



(Very Fine Quality)

Bowls specially selected for \$

rich-grained beauty. In a wide

With box of 10 filters

variety of shapes and sizes.

FRANK MEDICO \$

Standard quality-still

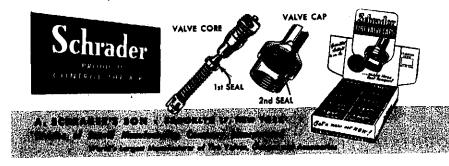
MURDER IN THE AIR!

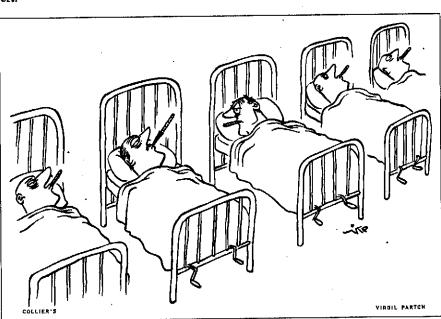
The above tire was murdered by lack of air! Yet the life of the tire could have been saved, if it had proper air pressure at all times-for underinflation ruins tires quickly. Don't murder your tires. Own your own tire pressure gauge. Use it often. It tells the exact pressure any . time, anywhere. It tells you how

much air your tires need, and when you need to stop at your dealers for more.

It pays to make sure, once the air is in the tire, that it stays in. The two Seals do the job. The valve core bolds the air in the tire valve. The valve cap guarantees an air-tight valve.

To "Make Your fires Last Langer," RIDE WITH BOTH SEALS, Buy them where you see this display. Watch your Pressures, Keep a Schrader Tire Gauge in your car.





Collier's for September 20, 1947