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SUPPLEMENT TO
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The following represent the personal opinions and attitudes of Alexander Svolos (SK-ELD) in regard to various situations as they exist today:

Position Regarding the General Situation in Greece

1. In the opinion of Alexander Svolos, the reactionary stand of the present Government presages great dangers for the future. The persecution, under various guises (exile, exclusion from civil service, etc.) of persons who are not Communists and who cannot be accused of any subversive act whatever, may well harass a large part of the Greek population for a long time to come, and the country may still remain divided even when the legal Government gains control over the situation.
2. The present Government and its administration ought to restore real equality among citizens who are neither Communists nor responsible for illegal revolutionary activities. It would be especially desirable, Svolos felt, after the restoration of tranquillity in the country, to create an atmosphere which would imbue all citizens (whether belonging to the left or right wing) with a deep sentiment which would put an end to acts of revenge endangering property, family and life as well.

Position Regarding Recent KKE Decisions

3. The recent KKE communiques which have been made public regarding the fate of Greek Macedonia will have a fatal effect upon the Party and its future in Greece, just as during the period of 1924-1935, when KKE adopted a similar position in favor of the "Catholic (sic - Universal, or Integral?) Independence of Macedonia".
4. This communique was somewhat of a shock, as no Greek belonging to any party or of any ideology can accept the mutilation of national territory. The statement of KKE in regard to Macedonia has opened a chasm between the leaders of this Party and the rest of the nation.
5. It is certain that the sentiments of some of those who are fighting in the front lines against the legal Government of Greece have changed. The integrity of national territory should be an absolute sine qua non.

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Position Regarding the Present Government

6. The present Government is not reactionary by nature. Nothing prevents it, or its top men, from following liberal policies. They do not follow them, however, or make any efforts towards this end. The Socialist members of the ELD Party have frequently been persecuted and exiled. Right now there is still a significant number of ELD trade union members in exile. ELD has taken and is still taking steps to help them.
7. The Government has an extraordinary opportunity, following the recent KKE declaration, to demonstrate to those in exile a more conciliatory policy, and thus to unite people whose patriotic reaction against the KKE declarations has been a wholesome one. The Government has not, up to the present time, done anything in this spirit.
8. In the face of this negligence on the part of the present Government, another solution must be sought for the future. The best thing would be the formation of a "Democratic Front" or, in order to avoid using the term "Front", which has an unfortunate connotation, the formation of a "Union" or a "Democratic Mobilization" in the form of a "third force", including all the progressive forces of the country, but excluding the Communists.³
9. This "Democratic Union" will extend to the left wing (including various Socialist groups among the Progressives of Tsouderos), to the entourage of General Plastiras, to the nine men who signed the cable to Evatt, and to all those belonging to the Liberal Parties of Sofoulis and Venizelos, as well as to those in the Populist Party, who might desire to participate in the "Democratic Mobilization". (Svolos mentioned the example of a Populist Member of Parliament for Lamia, whose moderation and good-will are such that he might be a member of the "Democratic Mobilization".)
10. The formation of a "Democratic Union" is right now the primary objective of the ELD, and the greatest personal desire of Svolos. This "Union" could be realized either through a close collaboration of the parties and groups or through not hurting the feelings of the parties (sic). The "Union" could be formed as a sort of a mobilization of distinguished persons belonging to the various groups and parties; however, their amalgamation within the frame of such a "Democratic Union" would not have any effective strength unless agreements are made with a number of Socialist groups which are now independent of ELD.
11. An amalgamation of ELD with the Progressive Party of Tsouderos is an idea proposed by some impartial observers who are well-informed as to the Greek psychology. It is, however, not only an unattainable proposal, but a futile one as well, for putting a Socialist label on a party corresponding to the Radical-Socialist Party of France would only strengthen Communism, since a vacuum would be created which would have to be filled by a real Socialist Party. The existence of a pure Socialist Party on the political scene in Greece is necessary, but the existence of a progressive bourgeois democratic party should not keep these two parties from closely collaborating.
12. The idea of forming a "Democratic Union" has been the objective of the ELD for the past year or so, and was approved without reservations by the representatives of COMISCO during their visit to Greece in February 1949.

Position Regarding the Independent Socialist Groups

13. In principle Svolos is well-disposed towards such groups, naturally so towards those which remained purely Socialist, such as the Independent Socialist groups of Papalannou and Economou.

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14. George Economou created some dissatisfaction in the ranks of ELD by the stand which he took at the time of his withdrawal from EAM in 1944. At that time Economou and Ioannou Passalides formed a Socialist Party which in reality was created by the Communists, and which was incorporated into EAM as a counterweight to, and in order to neutralize, ELD. Svolos commented that Economou's conduct was somewhat injurious to ELD; however, such minor dissatisfaction and irritations should not create serious opposition.
15. Svolos stated that his Party did not expect amalgamation of the type achieved between ELD and SKE during the occupation, an amalgamation which was so complete that their members today can no longer remember their origin, nor does it make any difference. Such amalgamation has little chance of being achieved with the Independent Socialist Group (ASO). ASO is composed of members who, at a given moment, will abandon ELD, "slamming the door behind them". However, Svolos declared, all this cannot possibly prevent the realization of an approach between persons inspired by the same ideology. Any number of ways can be found to realize a rapprochement which would quickly result in a definite amalgamation.

Position Regarding the Union of Greece with the United States of Southern Europe

16. This movement was initially conceived by COMISCO, and some progress towards its realization was made; but later, because of some opposition from the British Labor Party, this matter had no further result. The idea of the movement for a United States of Southern Europe was taken up again, not by the Socialist parties themselves, but by individual members and leaders of the parties (such as Marceau and Pivert in France).
17. When COMISCO was asked by ELD as to its stand towards this movement, a reply was finally given, without enthusiasm, that the Party was left free to act as it wished. From this Svolos concluded that the Greek Union for a United States of Southern Europe offered suitable ground for useful contacts between the progressives of the various parties, but not a "movement" which ELD could adopt, in view of the reserved stand of COMISCO and especially of the British Labor Party.

Views in Regard to the Americans and the British

18. The British are in the position of "god-father" to the present Greek Government. Consequently it is difficult for them, under the present circumstances, to favor the formation of a broader Socialist Party, a "Democratic Mobilization", or any other action looking towards the creation of organized opposition to the present Government.
19. For this reason Svolos did not contact the accredited British and American representatives in Greece. He would rather seek to contact those members of the British Labor Party who come to Greece (such as, for example, Dennis Healy, who had recently arrived). Through their intervention Svolos hopes to initiate negotiations with the ruling circles of the Labor Party which, according to him, has commanding influence in COMISCO circles.
20. Svolos said that he would be happy if the Socialist parties of the Western European countries, especially the Socialist Party of France, would help towards the realization of a "Democratic Union". The fact is, he added, the foreign parties are waiting for some sign of initiative from the Greeks themselves before supporting them, while the Greeks expect the foreign Socialist parties "to hold their foot so that they could put it in the stirrup", very much like a vicious circle.

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21. Svolos, however, believes that the French Socialist Party could render invaluable help if it would send some of its members to Greece to contact the Greek Socialists. It would also help if the French Socialist Party would attempt on a large scale (through the press, radio, or lectures) to cultivate the idea of forming a "third political force" in Greece; that is to say, a "Democratic Union", which alone, in Svolos' opinion, could unite and, little by little, aid the peaceful political balance in Greece in one or two election campaigns.

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~~SECRET/CONTROL~~ Comment: It is interesting, in this connection, to note similar reference to a "third force" made by Gregory Kasimatis in ~~SECRET/CONTROL~~

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